Unable to find
The Church of the City

Sydney E. Ahlstrom:
Theology in America:
The Major Protestant
Voices from Puritanism to
Neo-Orthodoxy: Bobbs-
Merrill, Indianapolis,
1967.

Chap. of Rauschenbusch

"LONELY PROPHET"

# XII

# WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH

## *Champion of the Social Gospel*

Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918)[1] is generally regarded as the personification of the Social Gospel in America. H. Shelton Smith goes further to assert that he was "the foremost molder of American Christian thought in his generation." Winthrop H. Hudson, on the other hand, depicts him as a "lonely prophet" whose thought "ran counter to the prevailing tendencies of the time." These statements may perhaps be harmonized with the observation that Rauschenbusch moved from relative obscurity to national prominence during the very years when a pervasive social awakening occurred in the Protestant churches; and that his combination of liberal theology and ethical theory won extremely widespread acceptance among those who made the Social Gospel a powerful force in American life. His outrage and compassion, moreover, aroused the social conscience of many who could not share his views of the Church, the Kingdom, or the Christian faith.

The significance of Rauschenbusch, therefore, is very great. He was an exceptionally forceful expositor of the Ritschlian theology, which during his lifetime was at the height of its influence throughout the Protestant world. He is thus a major example of religious liberalism. But he was also a hard-headed, creative, and undoctrinaire social theorist, who went beyond outrage and com-

[1] See Introduction, pp. 73–77.

## I PAYMENT RECEIPT

Boston University

FORM 134 6/78

| | Dollars | Cents |
|---|---|---|
| CASH | | |
| CHECKS List Bank # 53-235 | 215 | — |
| | | |
| | | |
| RECEIVED | 215 | — |
| RETURNED | | |
| RETAINED | | |

RECEIPT FOR RETAINED PAYMENT ONLY

Cashier — Date 9-9-81

University Representative — Date

| NAME | Last: RAGONA | First: MARJORIE | Int. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Social Security (ID) No. | 126 22 6194 | | |

| COLLEGE | Y/S | I.C. | OBJECT | SOURCE | | AMOUNT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| STH | 823 | 042 | 230 | 0000 | 0 | 215 — |
| | | | 230 | 0000 | 0 | |
| | | | 230 | 0000 | 0 | |
| | | | | | | |

Validation Date And Amount:

215 00

## II SETTLEMENT RECORD

IMPORTANT: This is a preliminary record of the financial settlement of your registration for the semester specified. The amounts stated below are subject to change.

Semester: Fall 81

| | | | *Balance (A-B) | Debit (A) | Credit (B) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. | BALANCE FORWARD | | | 0 | 0 | 01 |
| B. | ADD: ESTIMATED CHARGES | 1. Tuition & Fees | | 1685 00 | | 02 |
| | | 2. Room/Board/Meals Tax | | | | 03 |
| | | 3. Other Charges a) | | | | 04 |
| | | b) | | | | 05 |
| C. | SUBTOTAL | * | | 1685 00 | | |
| D. | LESS: PAYMENTS MADE TO DATE | 1. Tuition/Residence Deposit | | | | 06 |
| | | 2. FISL/BANK Loan Payment | | | | 07 |
| | | 3. Payment | | | | 08 |
| | | 4. | | | | 09 |
| E. | MEDICAL INSURANCE REJECTION (Only If Included In Item B. Above) | | | | 90 00 | 10 |
| F. | FINANCIAL AID | 1. Student Scholarship | | | 930 00 | 11 |
| | | 2. BEOG GRANT | | | | 12 |
| | | 3. SEOG Grant | | | | 13 |
| | | 4. STATE Grant or Scholarship | | | | 14 |
| | | 5. Assistantship/Other Aid | | | | 15 |
| | | 6. Stud. Loan (NDSL, etc.) | | | | 16 |
| | | 7. FISL/BANK Loan (In Process) | | | | 17 |
| G. | OUTSIDE AGENCY AWARDS | 1. NE EDUC LOAN | | | 450 00 | 18 |
| | (Specify Agency) | 2. | | | | 19 |
| H. | TUITION REMISSION | | | | | 20 |
| I. | OTHER DEDUCTIONS 1. | | | | | 21 |
| | 2. | | | | | 22 |
| J. | SUBTOTAL (C THRU I) | * | 215 00 | 1685 00 | 1470 00 | |
| K. | INDICATE MEANS OF SETTLING BALANCE ON LINE J (IF OTHER THAN ZERO) | | | | | |
| | 1. PAYMENT | | | | 215 — | 23 |
| | 2. FISL/BANK LOAN PAYMENT (CHECK IN HAND) | | | | | 24 |
| | 3. OTHER | | | | | 25 |
| | 4. D.P. | | | | | 26 |
| | 5. B.F. | | | | | 27 |
| | 6. UNSETTLED AMT. | | | | | 28 |
| | 7. CREDIT BALANCE POSITION | | | | | 29 |
| L. | TOTAL OF LINES J AND K(1) THRU K(7); | (COLUMN A = COLUMN B) | | 1685 — | 1685 — | |

M. FINANCIAL STATUS CODE

N. BATCH NO: DATE OF BALANCE FORWARD: MONTH DAY YEAR

COMMENTS:

APPROVED 32 SEPT 9 1981 COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE

STUDENT COPY

# BOSTON UNIVERSITY

To: Comptroller's Office

Date: 9/9/81

From: Office of Financial Assistance

Subject: MEMORANDUM TO REGISTER

| Name | | |
|---|---|---|
| RAGONA, MARJORIE | | |
| Last | First | Middle |
| Student Identification Number | | |
| 126-22-6194 | | |

Please allow the above student to register based upon the following award(s) for Semester II of the 81-82 academic year. This award is based on enrollment for 15 credit hours. If enrollment changes, the award may be reduced or cancelled.

| | |
|---|---|
| Boston University Scholarship/Grant | — |
| BEOG/Probable BEOG | — |
| State Scholarship/Probable State Scholarship | — |
| SEOG/FNS | — |
| NDSL/NSL | — |
| Other N.E. Ed Society Loan | 450 |

OFA Representative

In the event that any portion of the above financial aid does not become available to me, I will make full payment for the difference within 15 days of such notification. I further understand that I may be unable to register for future semesters unless my current semester bill is settled in full.

Marjorie F. Ragona 9/9/81 *

Student Signature Date

*MUST BE SIGNED TO BE VALID FOR REGISTRATION.

N

Christology -

X In Mark's case one wonders whether a text born out of linguistic dis-orientation & reflecting a deep sense of alienation is adequately grasped by fitting it into ~~a~~ stable grids & schemata.

religious biography - miracle working & impressive teaching myrtred at hands of a tyrant.

Apollonius of Tyana - not martyred.

Mark's Jesus - no birth & childhood stories. (but fixed in Luke / Matthew)

p. 119
p. 120 Parable - narrative parable of the meaning of the life & death of Jesus.
Parables becomes parable.
See definition bottom p. 121.

p. 123 insider / outsider

Walk by faith not by sight - anti Judaisers.

judea / Jerusalem seat of power × Galilee unification + redemption

Temple destroyed Mt of Olives new place

(216) Centuriums of all expectations has to be a Gentile group.

Parable-Myth

Rite provides the myth

compromises the word of God.

P. 154 Law produces alienation - to the already alienated

Closed system vs. Hiauty - open system

written word means constricture.

authority → law Christ

P. 155

antinomianism - faith alone is necessary against law

Letters of Recommendation is people written on human hearts of faith in

Decalogue (of stone) dead Spirit of living God embodied in people

(i.e. pride in Jewish culture grammatos — pneumatos

law kills but Spirit brings life

Alexandrian vs. Antiochene

Premise

"The oral medium in which words are managed from mouth to ear, handles information differently from the written medium, which links the eye to visible but silent letters on the written page."

For me, much of what Kelber says is fascinating but also pertinent. We who preach communicate orally, mouth to ear, and are still part of the oral Kerygma. What people believe the Bible says (or does not say) is predicated on what we who preach say it says — most people, if they read scripture at all, read it with our interpretation or misinterpretation in mind. To be jealously faithful of the tradition is an imperative.

But what is the tradition? This, of course, is the question all Biblical scholars seek to answer. What did Jesus really say? Who added or took away what? What did the church qua church (i.e. believing community) pass on as its tradition either through what was said or written to the believers at that time. How faithful a representation is it. What did the original words mean both connotatively + denotatively?

Would itinerants have time to do the whole Kerygma trip + memorization - if as we learned here Kelber says. was available.

REGISTRATION ACTIVITY as of: 10/19/81
SEMESTER or SUMMER SESSION: 81/82-1

STUDY AUDIT

Boston University
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

| CALL NO. | CRED. HRS | AU/NC | ST. APP | CLASS STATUS | DAYS | TIMES | COURSE/TITLE | LOCATION | INSTRUCTOR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 251570 | 1.0 | | | REG | STHTC703 | | T2/XTIAN VOCAT CH | | |
| | | | | | EXP W | 05:00P-06:30P | | STH/ 318 | TREESE |
| 281670 | 2.0 | | | ADD | STHTC811 | | A1/TPM WRSP&CELEBR | | |
| | | | | | IND T | 03:30P-05:00P | | STH/ 306 | ALLEN |
| | | | | | IND T | 03:30P-05:00P | | STH/ 306 | CLARK |
| 253330 | 4.0 | | | REG | STHTC814 | | A1/CLT BCK CLCTEST | | |
| | | | | | IND TR | 02:00P-03:30P | | STH/819 | BECK |
| 252800 | 4.0 | | | REG | STHTY702 | | A1/FRS CLT REL DEV | | |
| | | | | | IND W | 02:00P-05:00P | | STH/E18 | JERNIGAN |
| | | | | | IND W | 02:00P-05:00P | | STH/E18 | FRASER |
| 253340 | 4.0 | | | REG | STHTY748 | | A1/INT PASTRL COUN | | |
| | | | | | IND R | 03:30P-06:30P | | STH/B15 | JORDAN |
| 281660 | 2.0 | | | DRP-ST | STHTC809 | | A1/PROCLAMATION | | |

EXPECTED GRADUATION IS M-84. IF INCORRECT, CONTACT YOUR RECORDER

| COLLEGE/ SCHOOL CODE | DEGREE/ PROGRAM CODE | FULL/ PART TIME | CLASS/ YEAR CODE | CONTIN CODE | CREDIT HRS. CODE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| STH | 62 | 1 | 01 | R | 1 |

PROGRAM 1 MDIV as of: 09/24/8

STH-62-2301A- THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

PROGRAM 2

I.D. NUMBER 126-22-6194

STUDENT ADDRESS

STH 62 1
MARJORIE F RAGONA
223 HIGHLAND AVEN
SOMERVILLE MA 02143

A concert pianist from Paris, on tour in the United States in 1846, lit a cigar on the streets of Boston. He describes his experience:

> I had not proceeded ten feet when a constable stopped me, shocked.
> "Sir, smoking is forbidden."
> "You are joking, constable."
> "Not at all. Smoking in the streets is forbidden. If you cannot contain yourself, go home to smoke. . . . Your infraction is all the more shocking and blameworthy on Sunday, the day consecrated to the glory of God."
> I could not help but consider this taboo, in the land of all the liberties, tyrannical. But I had to obey.

While one need not surrender cigar-smoking to be Americanized, immigrant institutions generally sought the favor and good will of the older population. In this way a pervading Anglo-American morality infiltrated the moral and religious codes of many old-world settlers. As Archbishop Ireland noted in 1891, "An honest ballot and social decorum among Catholics will do more for God's glory and the salvation of souls than midnight flagellations or Compostellan pilgrimages."

If church and synagogue membership were voluntary, then it ought to be meaningful: discipline was demanded, moral achievement was expected. The immigrant's religion, it was assumed, would be a power for reform and reconstruction in America—otherwise it was not religion. All liberty's children were invited to shape their nation's destiny.

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At the laying of the cornerstone for the Catholic University of America in 1888 John Lancaster Spalding spoke of the relationship between Christianity and democracy.

> The special significance of our American Catholic history is not found in the phases of our life which attract attention, and are a common theme for declamation; but it lies in the fact that our example proves that the Church can thrive where it is neither protected nor persecuted, but is simply left to itself to manage its own affairs and to do its work. Such an experiment had never been made when we became an independent people, and its success is of world-wide import, because this is the modern tendency and the position toward the Church which all nations will sooner or later assume; just as they all will be finally forced to accept popular rule. The great underlying principle of democracy—that men are brothers and have equal rights, and that God clothes the soul with freedom—is a truth taught by Christ, is a truth proclaimed by the Church; and the faith of all Christians in this principle, in spite of hesitations and misgivings, of oppositions and obstacles and inconceivable difficulties, has finally given to it its modern vigor and beneficent power.

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Jaenicke, Edwin Scott: A Religious History of America. Harper & Row, N.Y. 1966

# 16 ❖ A Changing Order: Factory and Town

Diagnosis is the proper prelude to cure. But when symptoms are numerous and complex, then diagnosis is difficult and consensus is elusive. So it proved in American society in the late nineteenth century. Newspaper headlines, pulpit alarms, and civic resolutions bewailed the ill-health to which a dizzying succession of symptoms witnessed: strikes, riots, panics, sweat shops, slums, illiteracy, immorality, poverty, bribery, and graft. What was the cause, and where was the cure?

From 1860 to 1900 the nation's urban population more than doubled, creating "big city" problems inland as well as in the coastal centers. Immigration itself was part of a European move from farm to city—an Irish or Polish farm to an American city. But native Americans also left the rural areas, especially in the Middle West, to augment the city's fast growing population. By the end of the century Chicago was the nation's second largest city, with rapid growth notable in Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Indianapolis, Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo, Kansas City, and Omaha.

In the same forty-year span the industrial revolution likewise radically altered American life. "Revolution" was not too strong a word for the changes in transportation (steam engine, combustion engine, electric engine), communication (telegraph, telephone, transatlantic cable, wireless, typewriter, linotype presses), agriculture (binders, improved harvesters, threshers, cutters), and domestic life (electric light, sewing machine, phonograph). The greatest revolution, however, was in the labor market itself, where thousands of propertyless men traded only their skills and their sweat.

All three—immigration, urbanization, industrialization—heightened the ills and multiplied the symptoms. For the sores of the city the immigrant was often held responsible; for the fevers of the factory the city itself received blamed. So complex were the ultimate causes that enemies of the city or the factory or the immigrant seized their chance to single out a scapegoat for all social disorder.

To these ills, whatever their cause, religion could not long remain indifferent. Some callousness and some complacency, particularly just after



A theater in which SG leaves

Anti-Theology see Jeremiah

the Civil War, did characterize the churches' attitude. As the social distresses persisted, however, leaders probed for solution or cure. Convictions about the perfectability of men and the benevolence of God reinforced America's persisting optimism that free men could create the finest society. If one still believed in a utopia, he now also believed in America. He did not, therefore, flee to the mountains or empty plains to fashion his ideal society. Rather he stayed with thronging humanity, there to work and pray for a better order.

Was religion relevant to the economic, the social, the political crises? Could physicians cure sickness of class, race, and slum? Was there any balm in Gilead? A healing ministry offered to American society two contrasting (but not contradictory) remedies: one for the individual; a second for the social structures themselves.

## REDEMPTION OF PERSONS

From the first signs of social corruption in colonial New England through the fluctuating fortunes of revolution, expansion, civil strife, immigration, and industrialization, one cure was repeatedly urged: change the hearts of men. Then and only then do you change the health of society. As one cannot make a silk purse from a sow's ear, it was argued, so one cannot elevate or redeem a society whose members wallow in stubborn sin. This curative procedure bore the respectability of age, the glory of repeated triumph. With little disposition to abandon it after the Civil War, religious leaders nevertheless recognized the necessity for new means and new measures to reach the individual. Along with the old techniques, therefore, came experimental approaches to problems posed by factory and town.

### *Mass Evangelism*

Whitefield, Dwight, Finney, and others in an earlier time unified society, resisted infidelity, and extended Christianity. After the Civil War was the revival obsolete? Dwight L. Moody provided the most resounding negative to that question.

A Boston shoe clerk, Moody, impressed by the earnestness of his Sunday School teacher, joined the Congregational Church when he was eighteen years of age. Later that same year, 1856, he left for Chicago to make his own way in the world of business, but money-making soon took second place to religious teaching. Moody spent his after-business hours organiz-

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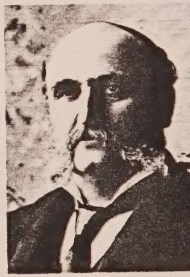
The gospel of personal redemption is proudly proclaimed by Dwight L. Moody (*Moody's Great Sermons,* 1899).

> Now, let me say, my friends, if you want that love of God in your hearts, all you have to do is to open the door and let it shine in. It will

*1. Dwight L. Moody's Sunday School Class, Chicago, 1876 • In this lithograph, entitled "Will It Pay?", Moody stands in the center rear.*



*2. Moody's strong ally, Ira D. Sankey*

*3. Moody preaches at the Hippodrome, New York City, 1875–76*


*4. Twentieth Century Revivalism (Washington, D. C., 1939)*

shine in as the sun shines in a dark room. Let him have full possession of your hearts. Some people have an idea they had something to do to bring about reconciliation. God is already reconciled. There is not anything for you to do but believe that God is reconciled.

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ing Sunday Schools, distributing tracts, raising money for church buildings, and ministering in a dozen ways to Chicago's disheartened and dispossessed. By 1860 he emerged from "the hardest struggle I ever had in my life" with the decision to give himself fully to the cause of religion (see Fig. 3).

During the Civil War he worked in the army camps, offering aid to the wounded and guidance to the confused. After that conflict, he returned to the slums of Chicago to direct relief, establish missions, and acquire a reputation for efficient advancement of the Christian cause. Moody won his great fame as a revivalist, however, far from Chicago. In 1875, after conducting amazingly successful evangelistic meetings in Great Britain, he returned to America to become a hero at home no less than abroad.

Ira D. Sankey, the song leader whom Moody took along to England, shared in this shower of fame. Sankey's hymns (those he sang and those he wrote) introduced an impressive novelty into American revivalism. Henceforth, no revivalist dared enter the arena of mass evangelism unless armed with a musical ally (see Fig. 2).

Unordained and uneducated (he never finished the seventh grade), Moody nonetheless made impressive contributions both to religion and to education. In religion he renewed and sharpened the demands of a gospel of charity and brotherhood. To a society threatened by bitter division, he offered the unifying theme of a God who loved all the world. The theme seemed more plausible, the message more winsome when presented in the quiet, restrained, homey manner that Moody regularly employed. No hysterics were countenanced, no excesses of emotion encouraged. A simple gospel, simply presented was for many enough.

In education Moody likewise left a permanent mark. Aware that his hearers no longer shared a common religious heritage or common intellectual assumptions, Moody pleaded "for teachers who shall teach and show what the gospel is." In 1879 he founded a school for girls near his old home at Northfield, Massachusetts; the Mount Hermon School for boys opened two years later. In 1889 he transformed Chicago's Evangelization Society into a coeducational religious school, later know as the Moody Bible Institute. From these centers, as from the impact of his revivals and the influence of his prominent supporters (Cyrus McCormick, John Wanamaker, Anson G. Phelps, T. DeWitt Talmadge, Phillips Brooks, James McCosh, and Henry Ward Beecher, among others), Moody's name spread around the world.

Moody saw reform as possible only when "the Reformer gets into



[men's] hearts." This was the business of religion: to change men, not to upset political, social, and economic apple carts. Popular pulpit orators generally followed the same path. The persuasive Phillips Brooks, rector of Boston's Trinity Church, maintained that the churches' vital business was to redeem the hearts of men. Patience, prayer, Bible reading and churchgoing constituted the route to a better world. And Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn's Plymouth Church, found a man's poverty to be the result of his sin, his prosperity the mark of his virtue. ". . . Where you find the most religion there you will find the most worldly prosperity—in communities, I mean, not in single persons." "Until the heart is made right," said Moody, "all else will be wrong."

### *Reforms*

Even those concerned primarily with private morality and personal sin agreed that group action against sin was occasionally desirable. Two areas, Sunday observance and temperance, occupied many who fretted over America's changing mores. Sunday proved troublesome simply because its observance differed so widely. The "continental Sunday" featured sports, games, parties and recreation, while the "puritan Sunday" turned from all unnecessary labor and frivolous activity. As these two traditions in Christendom collided, each fought for its own method of keeping "the sabbath day holy."

Preserving Sunday as a day of religion and rest turned into a major crusade. Violations of the expected decorum intensified attacks on the city, the factory, and the immigrant as destroying "the very foundations of public morality and private virtue." Resisting every breach in the wall, pietist churches reluctantly retreated before Sunday newspapers, Sunday sports, Sunday business. Conservative churches even supported labor's struggle for a six-day week, hoping that religion could then find a place along with rest and relaxation. For some a man's Americanism was measured by his Sunday habits. And for the Reverend Josiah Strong "there is, perhaps, no better index of general morality than Sabbath observance."

Attracting more attention, winning more votes, exuding more zeal, the temperance crusade achieved nationwide prominence in the years before and immediately after World War I. Sentiment for temperance was old, but the vigor and extent of organized sentiment was new. The National Temperance Society and Publishing House was founded in 1865, the Prohibition Party in 1869, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America in 1872, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1874, and the Anti-Saloon League of America in 1893. Some worked for moderation, others for abstinence; some attacked the saloon, others aided the victim; some thought political action desirable, others placed emphasis on "moral suasion."

made creeds. This vision took me away from human beliefs, and gave the spiritual import of all things from the Divine Mind expressed through Science. This gave me a new sense of Life, of God, and healed me.

Ever since then my highest creed has been Divine Science, which, reduced to human apprehensions, I have named Christian Science. This Sacred Science teaches man that God is his only Life, and that this Life is Truth and Love; that God is to be understood and demonstrated, instead of believed and feared; that divine understanding casts out human error and heals the sick.

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## REDEMPTION OF SOCIETY

As America's social disorders mounted, many became convinced that the basic illness was public, not private. Salvation of souls was commendable, but salvation of the system was imperative. Let us suppose, in Moody's terms, that the heart of a man be changed. Then let us suppose he is returned to the twelve-hour day, seven-day week at the steel mill; his wife and even his small children, taken from school, are employed elsewhere to help sustain the family; all return to a squalid, sunless, depressing tenement to make their devotions before falling wearily onto a blanket spread on a cold floor. The man's heart has been changed, but for how long and to what end? Has all duty been done, all redeeming effort been exhausted?

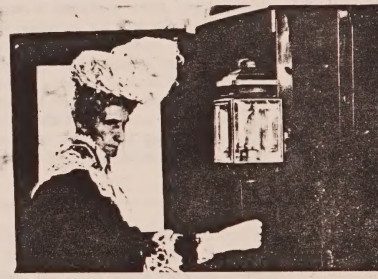
Sociology, both as a word and as a field of study, developed in the nineteenth century, drawing attention to the effects of environment on the moral, intellectual, and spiritual life of man. Convinced that man motivated by religion could alter his environment, Jewish and Christian reformers also acknowledged that environment could alter, deform, or degrade a man—even a religious man. The application of newly discovered sociological and economic principles to America's crises came to be known, in Protestant circles, as the "social gospel." But under whatever banner, leaders from every religious tradition explored ways to sanctify the social order (see Fig. 14).

### *Industrial problems*

Industry's development led to an accumulation of vast wealth on the one hand and an aggregation of a vast laboring force on the other. In the small-farm, independent-artisan days of the early republic, society escaped a massive struggle between labor and capital. But between the Civil War and World War I the specter of class war loomed. Unionization, wage scales, working hours, working conditions, monopoly, private property, single tax, tariff, free competition, free silver—these issues set debtor against creditor, labor against capital, citizen against citizen.

The rights and responsibilities of labor involved synagogue and church most deeply and raised the moral issues most inescapably. In the 1880's

*14. Sweatshops of New York City, 1888*



*16. Mary Baker Eddy Enters her Carriage, 1910*

*15. Washington Gladden in His Study, Columbus, Ohio*

*17. "The Boss": Corruption in The City • Cartoon by Walter Appleton Clark in* Collier's Weekly, *November 10, 1906.*

Settlement houses relieved—as best they could—the terrors, the temptations, the degradation of slum living. Before this institution was born, a missionary visiting the city slum returned each night to his own safer, cleaner part of town. "Suppose," asked one reformer, "that the Lord, when he came on the earth, had come a day at a time and brought his lunch with him, and then gone home to heaven nights?" The point was clear: compassionate neighbor-love comes only from a neighbor. The settlement house moving into the slum became a school, a church, a library, a bath house, a theatre, an art gallery, a bank, a hospital, a refuge, a hope. Whatever it needed to be, it was.

Jane Addams founded the most famous of all, Hull House, on South Halsted Street in Chicago. Begun in 1889, Hull House attracted statewide, then nationwide, and finally worldwide attention as it suffered with its neighbors. While no specific religious instruction was offered, Jane Addams saw Christianity as "a simple and natural expression in the social organism itself." In harmony with the Quaker principles of her father, Miss Addams determined to recognize "the good in every man, even the meanest." Spiritual force, she wrote, is necessary for the success of any settlement; in Hull House "there must be the overmastering belief that all that is noblest in life is common to men as men." Her energies as wide as her sympathies, she threw herself into the battle for social justice, women's rights, civil liberties, child welfare, and international peace—all with unstinted dedication.

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Jane Addams described the Settlement House in *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (1893).

> The Settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of a city. It is an attempt to relieve, at the same time, the over-accumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this over-accumulation and destitution is most sorely felt in the things that pertain to social and educational advantage. . . . It must be grounded in a philosophy whose foundation is on the solidarity of the human race, a philosophy which will not waver when that race happens to be represented by a drunken woman or an idiot boy. Its residents must be emptied of all conceit of opinion and all self-assertion, and ready to arouse and interpret the public opinion of their neighborhood. They must be content to live quietly side by side with their neighbors until they grow into a sense of relationship and mutual interests. . . . The highest moralists have taught that without the advance and improvement of the whole no man can hope for any lasting improvement in his own moral or material individual condition. The subjective necessity for Social Settlements is identical with that necessity which urges us on toward social and individual salvation.

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Gradually the voices of lonely prophets and the examples of heroic saints made their mark. Progressivism in American politics took cues from religious reformers. Seminaries sensitized the social consciences of the next generation's ministry. Denominations directed their corporate attention to the human condition. And at the turn of the century millions read Charles M. Sheldon's fantastically popular best seller *In His Steps*. In this novel the Congregational pastor from Topeka, Kansas, persuaded ordinary men and women in ordinary congregations to apply their religion with extraordinary verve.

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Charles M. Sheldon's *In His Steps* was first published serially in 1896; by 1960 over twenty million copies had been sold. Here the fictional Reverend Henry Maxwell speaks.

> "What I am going to propose now is something which ought not to appear unusual or at all impossible of execution. Yet I am aware that it will be so regarded by a large number, perhaps, of the members of this church. But in order that we may have a thorough understanding of what we are considering, I will put my proposition very plainly, perhaps bluntly. I want volunteers from the First Church who will pledge themselves, earnestly and honestly for an entire year, not to do anything without first asking the question, 'What would Jesus do?' And after asking that question, each one will follow Jesus as exactly as he knows how, no matter what the result may be."

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By 1920 Protestants, Jews, and Catholics had all officially endorsed momentous programs of social reform. In 1908 over twelve million Protestants created a Federal Council of Churches, one of its major purposes being to relate religion powerfully to society's problems. Adopting a "social creed of the churches," the new group pointed to "the mighty task of putting conscience and justice and love into a 'Christian' civilization." Four years later, in 1912, the Council urged social justice in all areas of life. "The final message" breathing through every issue, motivating every concern, was still redemption: "the redemption of the individual in the world, and through him of the world itself, and there is no redemption of either without the redemption of the other."

In 1918 the Central Conference of American Rabbis likewise confronted that "mighty task" of implementing conscience, justice, and love. Declaring that "the dignity of the individual soul before God cannot be lost sight of before men," the Conference argued for a "fundamental reconstruction of our economic organization." In the early 1930's other Jews joined in urging reforms in wages, working conditions, unions, child labor, housing, and civil liberties—resting their case, too, on each human being's "inherent infinite moral worth."

God," Rauschenbusch saw the kingdom as the elevation of human personality, an escape from bigotry, oppression, obligarchy, and monopoly toward a "reign of love [that] tends toward the progressive unity of mankind." The Kingdom of God, he concluded, "embraces the whole of human life," for it is nothing less than the "transfiguration of the social order."

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In the first quarter of the twentieth century Protestants, Jews, and Catholics all demonstrated their keen social concern: (1) A Social Creed of the Churches, adopted by the (Protestant) Federal Council of Churches in 1908; (2) A Statement adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1918; and (3) The Bishop's Program of Social Reconstruction, adopted by the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council in 1919.

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(1) We deem it the duty of all Christian people to concern themselves directly with certain practical industrial problems. To us it seems that the churches must stand:

For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

For the rights of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind. For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change.

For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions.

For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries and mortality.

For the abolition of child labor.

For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

For the suppression of the "sweating system" [working under the most adverse conditions, e.g., factories in tenement homes].

For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

For a release from employment one day in seven.

For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

For the abatement of poverty.

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(2) The ideal of social justice has always been an integral part of Judaism. It is in accordance with tradition, therefore, that the Central Conference of



American Rabbis submits the following declaration of principles as a program for the attainment of which the followers of our faith should strive:

1. A more equitable distribution of the profits of industry.
2. A minimum wage which will insure for all workers a fair standard of living.
3. The legal enactment of an eight hour day as a maximum for all industrial workers.
4. A compulsory one-day-of-rest-in-seven for all workers.
5. Regulation of industrial conditions to give all workers a safe and sanitary working environment, with particular reference to the special needs of women.
6. Abolition of child labor and raising the standard of age wherever the legal age limit is lower than is consistent with moral and physical health.
7. Adequate workmen's compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases.
8. Legislative provision for universal workmen's health insurance and careful study of social insurance methods for meeting the contingencies of unemployment and old age.
9. An adequate, permanent national system of public employment bureaus to make possible the proper distribution of the labor forces of Amercia.
10. Recognition of the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively.
11. The application of the principles of mediation, conciliation and arbitration to industrial disputes.
12. Proper housing for working-people, secured through government regulation when necessary.
13. The preservation and integrity of the home by a system of mother's pensions.
14. Constructive care of dependents, defectives and criminals, with the aim of restoring them to normal life wherever possible.

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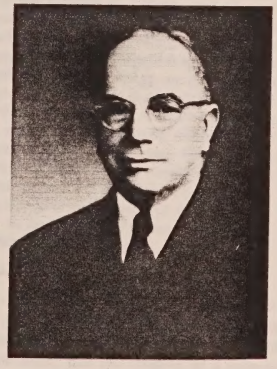
(3) "Society," said Pope Leo XIII, "can be healed in no other way than by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions." The truth of these words is more widely perceived today than when they were written, more than twenty-seven years ago. Changes in our economic and political systems will have only partial and feeble efficiency if they be not reinforced by the Christian view of work and wealth. Neither the moderate reforms advocated in this paper nor any other program of betterment or reconstruction will prove reasonably effective without a reform in the spirit of both labor and capital. The laborer must come to realize that he owes his employer and society an honest day's work in return for a fair wage, and that conditions cannot be substantially improved until he roots out the desire to get a maximum of return for a minimum of service. The capitalist must likewise get a new viewpoint. He needs to learn the long-forgotten truth that wealth is stewardship, that profit-making is not the basic justifica-

*21. First Jewish Community Center, New York City • Covenant Hall on Orchard Street, founded in 1852, included the Maimonides Free Library, shown here.*

*22. Catholic Social Action Leader: John A. Ryan*



*23. Protestant Social Action Leader: G. Bromley Oxnam*



Under the progressive leadership of Monsignor John A. Ryan, American Catholicism in 1919 made its most significant statement regarding "social reconstruction." To administer many humanitarian efforts required by World War I, America's Roman Catholics had already formed the National Catholic War Council. When the war ended, Ryan, professor at Catholic University of America, presented to the council a program for peace. Recognizing that the "only safeguard of peace is social justice and a contented people," the council's controlling bishops approved Ryan's plan of reform. Catholic social action, temporarily channeled through the War Council, in the 1920's received a permanent institutional base: the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Literature, lobbies, schools, and annual institutes educated a vast public —Catholic and non-Catholic—in the "principles of charity and justice that have always been held and taught by the Catholic Church." Until his death in 1945 John A. Ryan, "Right Reverend New Dealer," played a major part in this broad, patient process of education. From *A Living Wage* (1906) to his autobiography, *Social Doctrine in Action* (1949), the blunt, bold, restless monsignor rarely permitted the conscience of his Church or his nation to rest. For Ryan the state represented more an instrument for the common good than an agent for individual suppression. And the Church stood as an engine for justice, not as a refuge of reaction. Ryan's voice and pen, Franklin Roosevelt noted in 1939, created for men "an opportunity to share in the things that enrich and ennoble human life."

Before the roaring twenties had spent their fury, both city and factory responded to the persuasive voice of organized religion. Civic reform, as in The Reverend Charles Parkhurst's campaign to clean up New York, came often at the instigation of synagogues and churches. Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland and Mayor Samuel L. Jones of Toledo freely acknowledged the religious source of their humanitarian and moral reforms. Industrial improvements proceeded from the Unions for Practical Progress, the Social Action Commissions, the Departments of Social Justice, and other centers where religious leadership was determinative. Pulpit pronouncements reached beyond cushioned pew to unsanitary slum, unsafe factory or mine. And from the inspiration of quiet worship, the faithful moved out to a needy world.

Meeting a multitude of needs and fending off a barrage of criticism, advocates of social redemption had little time to develop a full theology. Moreover, the growing prestige of science, the application of Darwin's theses to politics, economics, and religion, and the increasing use of literary and historical criteria in biblical study created theological problems not to be solved in a single decade or a single generation. The search for a new theology was made nonetheless, and by none more earnestly than Rauschenbusch in his *Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917). Interpreting the Kingdom of God as "humanity organized according to the will of

rent by industrial war, needed more than that. So did religion. "If we seek to keep Christian doctrine unchanged, we shall ensure its abandonment."

Catholicism, drawing more support in America from the working classes, generally defended labor's position. Papal pronouncements, notably the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII issued in 1891, strengthened Catholics in America. *Rerum novarum* elevated the whole dispute to the higher ground of social justice. The pope even justified state intervention into industry's affairs that evils might be remedied, dangers decreased. This important step helped remove the terrifying tag of "socialism" from any suggestion that public authority should mediate, inspect, supervise, or legislate in industrial concerns.

A few years before Leo's encyclical the American hierarchy prevented an open condemnation of the Knights of Labor, then the major association of workingmen in the United States. When Archbishop James Gibbons went to Rome in 1887 to receive his cardinal's hat, his timely defense of the Knights averted a double loss: to the laborer, his union; to the Church, the workers' sympathies and affection. Other members of the hierarchy, notably John Ireland, John J. Keane, and John L. Spalding, also recognized the legitimacy of associations that granted dignity and security to labor.

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In 1887 James Cardinal Gibbons memorialized the Holy See, defending the Knights of Labor.

> A third danger [in condemning the Knights of Labor]—and the one which most keenly touches our hearts—is the risk of losing the love of the children of the Church, and of pushing them into an attitude of resistance against their Mother. The world presents no more beautiful spectacle than that of their filial devotion and obedience; but it is well to recognize that, in our age and country, obedience cannot be blind. We would greatly deceive ourselves if we expected it. Our Catholic working men sincerely believe that they are only seeking justice, and seeking it by legitimate means. A condemnation would be considered both false and unjust, and, therefore, not binding. We might preach to them submission and confidence in the Church's judgment, but these good dispositions could hardly go so far. They love the Church, and they wish to save their souls, but they must also earn their living, and labor is now so organized that without belonging to the organization it is almost impossible to earn one's living.

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Espousing the Judeo-Christian view of man, Archbishop Ireland deplored the tendency to view labor as a mere commodity to be bargained and bartered for as cheaply as possible. "I hate that view of labor," he wrote, "which makes it a mechanical force, like the rotation of a railroad engine or a turbine, purchaseable at mere market value. I must see at all



times the living generator of labor—the man, my own brother and the child of the Supreme God—and in availing myself of human labor I must keep well in mind the dignity and rights of man."

### *Urban problems*

In health, housing, morals, education, and a host of other areas the metropolis confronted church and synagogue with tasks of staggering proportion. These tasks became either opportunities or burdens: opportunities when religion met the challenge, burdens of guilt and shame when problems outran solutions. The immigrant journalist Jacob Riis pictured tenement life in New York in *How the Other Half Lives*; no rosy tones brightened his palette.

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In *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) Jacob Riis described the churches' losing battle in the slums.

> Where God builds a church the devil builds next door a saloon, is an old saying that has lost its point in New York. Either the devil was on the ground first, or he has been doing a good deal more in the way of building. I tried once to find out how the account stood, and counted to 111 Protestant churches, chapels and places of worship of every kind below Fourteenth Street, 4,065 saloons. The worst half of the tenement population lives down there, and it has to this day the worst half of the saloons. Uptown the account stands a little better, but there are easily ten saloons to every church today. I am afraid, too, that the congregations are larger by a good deal; certainly the attendance is steadier and the contributions more liberal the week round, Sunday included.

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To correct industrial abuses the reformers frequently looked to the national government for help. But in urban crime and sin the city governments were often part of the corruption. Political machines, fraudulent voting, and demagoguery scarcely encouraged moral crusades at the local level. The city corporations can use their power, Washington Gladden sadly observed, "to undermine morality, to debauch the consciences of citizens, to lower the standards of business integrity and to pervert the judgment of the youth. . . . I can think of few influences that would more effectively uplift and confirm social morality than that of a good city government" (see Fig. 17).

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Washington Gladden analyzed the effect of the city on human lives in *Social Facts and Forces* (1897).

> So it is that this great political organism [the city], to which enormous power is and must be entrusted, becomes in so many cases an engine of

strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and riots plunged America into industrial war. Since the employer was generally a native, the employee generally an immigrant, "the ominous separation of the American people into two nations" rested on ethnic and religious differences as well as on economics. With labor accused of pushing toward socialism, with business charged with retreating toward feudalism, democracy itself was endangered.

Much of Protestantism, especially that of a far earlier immigration, defended the position of the business community. Here its major membership and support lay, and here divine favor seemed to rest on thrift, industry, and faithful church attendance. The laboring man, charged with spending more time in saloons and union associations than in churches, could hardly hope to prosper. "Change your hearts." But labor's heart was hardening against what looked like at best the indifference of religion, at worst its collusion with a systematic exploitation.

A few prophets stood against the current, their very isolation increasing their eminence. Washington Gladden, Congregationalist pastor in Columbus, Ohio, called for a religion of relevance, a Christianity applied to the no-longer-to-be-ignored ugly sores of modern life. "The one thing needful," he announced, "is the application to all human relations of the Christian law of brotherhood" (see Fig. 15).

When an 1884 coal strike involved members of his own congregation, Gladden struggled to bring some good will and brotherhood. "The doctrine which bases all the relations of employer and employed upon self-interest is," he wrote, "a doctrine of the pit; it has been bringing hell to earth in large instalments for a good many years." Defending labor's right to organize and showing that increased production brought no increase in wages, Gladden recommended a profit-sharing system and a reduction in working hours without a reduction in pay. Both labor and capital must be checked by the commonweal, looking toward that day when honorable cooperation replaces fierce competition.

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Washington Gladden defends the labor union in *Social Facts and Forces* (1897).

> So long as the present organization of industry continues, the right of working men to combine must be frankly and fully conceded. In view of the stupendous combinations of capital, the refusal to permit the combination of laborers is a gross injustice. . . . A large number of the most bitter and destructive conflicts between labor and capital have been fought on this issue. In every such conflict my sympathies are wholly with the working men. The attempt to deprive them of the right to stand together for their own defense is one that they ought to resist by all lawful means, and they ought to know that all men who hate oppression are on their side.

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Walter Rauschenbusch, Baptist pastor and later seminary professor, spoke powerfully for the application of Christian principles to social and economic life. If religion has power, then it must use that power for a worthy social order. For "the religious spirit always intensifies thought, enlarges hope, unfetters daring, evokes the willingness to sacrifice, and gives coherence in the fight. Under the warm breath of religious faith, all social institutions become plastic."

Admitting that labor unions seek the welfare of their own groups, Rauschenbusch pointed out that few loyalties have been world-wide. "Christian love itself checks its pace when it crosses the threshold of its own particular Church," he confessed. "Why should we demand of one of the lowest classes, fighting on the borderland of poverty, an unselfish devotion to all society which the upper classes have never shown?" The unions, he argued, stand "for human life against profits." Capitalism "makes the margin of life narrow in order to make the margin of profit wide."

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In his *Prayers of the Social Awakening* (1909) Walter Rauschenbusch offered a petition on behalf of "children who work."

*For Children Who Work*

> O Thou great Father of the weak, lay thy hand tenderly on all the little children on earth and bless them. Bless our own children, who are life of our life, and who have become the heart of our heart. Bless every little child-friend that has leaned against our knee and refreshed our soul by its smiling trustfulness. Be good to all children who long in vain for human love, or for flowers and water, and the sweet breast of Nature. But bless with a sevenfold blessing the young lives whose slender shoulders are already bowed beneath the yoke of toil, and whose glad growth is being stunted forever. Suffer not their little bodies to be utterly sapped, and their minds to be given over to stupidity and the vices of an empty soul. We have all jointly deserved the millstone of thy wrath for making these little ones to stumble and fall. Grant all employers of labor stout hearts to resist enrichment at such a price. Grant to all citizens and officers of state which now permit this wrong the grace of holy anger. Help us to realize that every child of our nation is in very truth our child, a member of our great family. By the Holy Child that nestled in Mary's bosom; by the memories of our own childhood joys and sorrows; by the sacred possibilities that slumber in every child, we beseech thee to save us from killing the sweetness of young life by the greed of gain.

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Radically critical of the greed he saw in the economic realm, Rauschenbusch was equally critical of the complacency he found in the religious realm. Modern-day revivalists, he scornfully observed, produce only "skin-deep changes. Things have simmered down to signing a card, shaking hands, or being introduced to the evangelist." A torn and bleeding society,

need to Get

* Ritschl.
* Harnack

Hopkins, Chas. G.:
Rise of Social Gospel
in Amer. Protestantism.

Washington Gladden

Edw. Bellamy

Henry George

* Schleiermacher –

Josiah Strong

Bushnell

Strong, Josiah:
Our Country: Its
Possible Future
and Its Present Crisis

Norman Thomas

Vida Scudder

Winthrop Hudson:
The Great Tradition
of the Amer. Churches.

Jacob Ris: How the
Other Half Lives.

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of social crises (i.e., the depression of 1873 and the labor strife of 1877) gradually aroused them until Progressive politics and the Social Gospel claimed many by the early 1900's. A sense of justice and a fear of socialism caused a search for solutions to the problems of "robber baron" industrialism and slum-ridden urbanization. Workers claimed the churches unfairly sided with wealthy businessmen, and indeed Protestantism seemed in danger of losing all of labor's loyalty. Europe had faced these problems earlier, and thoughtful Americans began to study the ideas of reformers such as Adolf von Harnack, Giuseppe Mazzini, J. F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Ruskin. This background combined with Enlightenment humanism, the liberal theology of men such as Horace Bushnell, Theodore T. Munger, and William Clarke, the new science of sociology, and the work of groups such as the Y.M.C.A. to produce the Social Gospel.

The first modern statements of the Social Gospel were too advanced to be widely influential. In 1851, Stephen Colwell's book *New Themes for the Protestant Clergy* sounded a Social Gospel note that suffered the fate of being ahead of its times. Even the brilliant *Christian Sociology* of J. H. W. Stuckenberg in 1880 went largely unnoticed. But progress had been made in the 1870's. Massachusetts especially was stirred by the reform preaching of Joseph Cook and the Christian Labor Union of Jesse Jones and Edward Rogers. The acknowledged "father" of the Social Gospel, Washington Gladden, published the first of his many Social Gospel books in 1876.

In the 1880's increasing numbers of Christians sought solutions to labor problems on a basis of realistic social science—for immigration, business monopoly, and a decline in real wages had increased tensions. Social gospelers tended to support labor unions, and Gladden helped found the American Economic Association. Josiah Strong became a famous Social Gospel leader after his 1885 book *Our Country* aroused many to the crisis of Christianity's responsibility for social problems.

The Kingdom of God on earth was emphasized in the 1890's, and Christian organizations were formed to further it. George D. Herron for a time received considerable attention with a Social Gospel that began with self-sacrifice and ended with a radical reconstruction of society. The chief channel of the Social Gospel to the laity was the Social Gospel novel, such as William Stead's *If Christ Came to Chicago* and Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps* (which sold over twenty-five million copies). Also to endure was the institution of Labor Sunday, 1890.

The most flourishing time for the Social Gospel was in the 20th century before World War I. The mature Social Gospel benefited from and helped shape Progressivism, sociology, ecumenism, and modern interpretations of the social teachings of Jesus. The latter stressed love and respect for personality. By these standards laissez-faire industrialism, with its sweatshops and child labor, was unchristian and in need of basic reform at the least. The Social Gospel's most effective spokesman emerged in 1907 when Walter Rauschenbusch published *Christianity and the Social Crisis.*

The concerns of the Social Gospel had broadened from labor to urbanization, family life, and the increased role of government. Some social gospelers also worked for disarmament, interracial justice, and prohibition, though these were less characteristic of the movement as a whole, which, like society at large, saw the socioeconomic problems of industrialism as the chief crisis of the day.

Techniques developed by the Social Gospel were largely those of education, social service, and political reform. "Institutional" churches were founded in depressed areas to provide the poor with opportunities for wholesome recreation and to show the relevance of Christianity to modern life through services such as legal aid. Many of the settlement houses also had a religious orientation. Denominational agencies were formed to preach the Social Gospel and urge reforms. Unofficial groups such as the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor had been active since the 1880's. In the early 1900's the denominations most influenced by the Social Gospel—Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians—organized official social welfare commissions, and most major denominations eventually showed some organized concern. Geographically, the Social Gospel was strongest in the Northeast and the Midwest.

Most significant was the strength of the Social Gospel in the Federal Council of Churches, which adopted most of the Methodist "Social Creed" in its first year (1908), calling for protection of workers physically and socially, increased leisure, higher wages, the abolition of sweatshops and child labor.

Though there were significant variations and degrees of liberalism, the general thought of the Social Gospel may be summarized as having these key ideas: Laissez-faire capitalism represents the selfish law of the jungle, not the Christian way of cooperation. A Christian motive for business is service, not merely profit. Justice, not subsistence charity, is the Christian ethic in wages as in other matters.



Since sin is more than personal vice, and since environment so largely shapes personality, social structures that produce unhealthy environments are sinful. People, including workers, must be treated as humans, not commodities. Salvation is social, but it is evangelical as well as reformist. Individualism, economic and religious, tends dangerously toward selfishness, which contradicts the Biblical ideals of the Kingdom of God. God is immanent in the world, working through men. Society is interdependent and requires active Christian brotherliness. Application of the teachings of Jesus and the prophets can bring the Kingdom of God into being on earth. The time to act is now.

The term "Social Gospel" derives from a magazine of that name published by the Christian Commonwealth Colony (1897–1900), though it was not commonly used until after 1900—the earlier designation being "social Christianity."

Key leaders of the Social Gospel, aside from those noted above, include Lyman Abbott, W. D. P. Bliss, Richard Ely, Charles Henderson, Shailer Mathews, Francis G. Peabody, Newman Smyth, Charles Stelzle, Alva Taylor, and Graham Taylor.

The Social Gospel naturally was related to secular developments. Many social gospelers were sympathetic to a Christianized socialism but few Social Gospel advocates were Socialists politically. The reform Progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson was more congenial to most. The two movements shared ideas and leadership, greatly influencing each other.

In 1918, Gladden and Rauschenbusch died. The interests of most Americans were turned from social reform to the war and then to trying to forget it. Prohibition absorbed most of the remaining reform energies. The social gospelers who continued optimistic were challenged by realistic critics such as the neo-orthodox theologians. Disillusion and a religious depression that preceded the economic one produced a decline of impact. The Social Gospel was kept alive, however, emerging in new, more realistic, relativistic, international, ecumenical, and theological forms with the New Deal and World War II.

Recent Church involvement in civil rights, antipoverty, and antiwar movements is related to the Social Gospel—as is the "Secular City" philosophy—but the relationship is not agreed upon, aside from the foundation of Christian concern for social justice. Though a minority movement, especially among laymen, the Social Gospel was very influential. It has been called America's leading contribution to Christian thought.

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**Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge** (S.P.C.K.). An Anglican society for the publication and distribution of religious books and literature. It was directly connected with the work of Dr. Thomas Bray, who was appointed by the bishop of London in 1695 to act as commissary for the Anglican churches in the American colonies. Those interested in assisting Bray in his efforts to provide libraries for the American clergy organized the society in 1698 and secured a royal charter in 1701. In the 18th century the society promoted schools for the study of the catechism, helped organize charity schools for poor children in England, and set up lending libraries in local parishes. For a time it supported mission work in eastern India and assisted the missionary work of John and Charles Wesley in the colony of Georgia (1735–1738). The society has printed and sold books, tracts, and Anglican prayer books, as well as films and filmstrips. It has published works in most of the major European languages as well as in African and Asian languages in those areas where Anglican missions have been active. The S.P.C.K. has provided chaplains for British emigrants overseas, as well as Bibles and prayer books for the armed forces. It operates bookstores in Britain and in British territories overseas.

**Society for the Propagation of the Gospel** in foreign parts (S.P.G.). Anglican missionary society founded in 1701, to further work begun by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Its dual purpose was to provide the ministrations of the Church of England for overseas British subjects and to evangelize non-Christian peoples. Instrumental in promoting Anglicanism in American colonies, it now supports work in sixty overseas dioceses and mission areas.

**Society of Friends.** See QUAKERS.

**Society of Jesus.** See JESUS, SOCIETY OF.

**Society of St. John the Evangelist** (*or* Cowley Fathers). Anglican society of mission-

Seminary, New York City (1850–1874). Study at Berlin and Halle led him to champion historical criticism and translate the works of Gieseler and Hagenbach. From 1859 he edited the *American Theological Review*.

**Smith, Henry Preserved** (1847–1927). Presbyterian minister and theological professor. Born in Troy, Ohio, he graduated from Amherst College (1869) and Lane Seminary (1872). As a professor at Lane he defended Charles Briggs's views on higher criticism, and was suspended from the ministry. He later taught at Amherst College, Meadville Theological Seminary, and was librarian and professor of Hebrew at Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

**Smith, Joseph** (1805–1844). Founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Mormons. Joseph Smith's family were part of the great Yankee migrations from New England into New York at the beginning of the 19th century. The family on both his mother's and his father's sides had deep roots in New England, but they were not prosperous. The move to Palmyra, N.Y., did not change their economic circumstances, and Joseph has been described as a ragged boy. The area into which the Smiths moved in 1816 was not frontier territory, but a prospering, settled community which became even more prosperous with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. Palmyra in 1820 was not simply a farming community but possessed woolen manufactures, flour and paper mills, a blast furnace, and a six-hundred-volume library. The land lying along the Erie Canal has been often referred to as the "burned-over district." Religious excitement during the decade of the 1820's swept this area like a prarie fire. Many movements sprang up in addition to the Mormons—the revivals of Charles Finney, the communitarianism of John Humphrey Noyes, the Shakers, Millerites, and Rappites. The Smith family was prone to religious fervor of this type and also spent time looking for buried treasure with divining rods and "peek" stones, a kind of natural rock crystal. It was in this environment that Joseph began to have visions which eventually directed him to a hillside where he discovered golden plates covered with mysterious writing. He showed these plates to only a very small group of witnesses, and nothing much is known about them. With supernatural assistance, Joseph claimed, he was able to translate the writing on the tablets and present it to the world as the Book of Mormon. With the completion of the book, an angel, it is said, snatched away the plates, but the divine revelations did not cease. Upon these revelations and upon the teachings of the Book of Mormon, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was founded. Many have doubted whether Smith had the ability to write the Book of Mormon. Mormons, of course, are not troubled by this problem, since they believe the book was translated at the dictate of God. But others, for whom this explanation has not proved adequate, have looked to men in Smith's circle of acquaintances and disciples for a source. In any case, neither the book nor the church prospered in New York, and Smith decided in 1831 to move farther west. The church became established successfully in Kirtland, Ohio, Far West, Mo., and Nauvoo, Ill. A great many converts were added to the church in Kirtland, and a community established in which all resources were held in common by a band of elders and trustees. Smith continued to direct his followers by means of revelations which became increasingly frequent and matter-of-fact. In 1836 financial troubles began to mount, and Smith experimented in the founding of a bank in order to bail the community out of its difficulties. Because the state refused to license his inadequately backed institution, Smith founded what he called an antibank. The ruse did not prevent the antibank's collapse along with many other banks of the country in the panic of 1837. His own followers turned on him, furious for having been stripped of all their assets, and forced him to flee with a band of followers to Missouri, where other Mormons were living. In Missouri the Mormons were compelled to move three times by irate residents who were alarmed at their concerted action and their claims to eventual ownership of the whole state. The Mormons finally crossed the Mississippi into Illinois and founded Nauvoo, at the time of Smith's death the largest city in Illinois. The years from 1839 to 1844 were among the most successful of Smith's career. He obtained a charter from the state which made him virtually king of a separate domain. Leaders of both parties, including Lincoln and Douglas, courted him—for he dictated the votes of all of his followers. He obtained a revelation permitting polygamy among leaders of the church, however, and, though kept virtually secret, this instigated another attack upon the community by non-Mormons from neighboring towns. Joseph and his brother submitted to arrest, and were murdered by a mob in the Carthage jail on June 27, 1844.

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**Smith, Preserved** (1880–1941). Well-known American historian whose works dealt with the Reformation period. Smith received the B.A. from Amherst in 1901, the M.A. from Columbia in 1902 and the Ph.D. in 1907. He taught at Williams College, Amherst, and Harvard, and was professor of history at Cornell from 1922. His books include *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther* (1911), *The Age of the Reformation* (1920), *Erasmus—A Study of His Life, Ideals, and Place in History* (1923), and a *History of Modern Culture* (2 vols., 1930–1934).

**Smith, Rodney** (Gipsy Smith) (1860–1947). British evangelist. Born in a gipsy tent near Epping Forest, England, he was converted in 1876 and for a short time served in the Salvation Army. An unconventional preacher in the tradition of Dwight L. Moody, he avoided sensationalism and appealed to his hearers in a direct, personal way, using gospel solos in his work. He made several tours of the United States as well as of Australia and South Africa.

**Smith, William** (1727–1803). Episcopal clergyman and first provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania). Born and educated in Scotland, Smith came to America in 1751 and developed new patterns of liberal education as provost of the College. He favored reconciliation between Britain and the American colonies, and, after the Revolution, played an active part in reorganizing the Episcopal Church in the United States.

**Smith, William Robertson** (1846–1894). Scottish Biblical critic and Orientalist. He was professor of Oriental languages and Biblical exegesis at the Free College, Aberdeen, in 1870 and in 1875 he joined the Old Testament panel of the Revised Version. His articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* led to his expulsion from Aberdeen in 1881. He became a Cambridge don in 1885. In *The Old Testament and the Jewish Church* (1881) he espoused Pentateuchal criticism, and in *The Religion of the Semites* (1889), the concept of sacrifice as fellowship.

**Smyth, John** (c. 1554–1612). The man generally reckoned as founder of the English Baptists. Starting as a clergyman in the Church of England, he moved to Independency, ending as a Baptist. A graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, he was ordained by the bishop of Lincoln. To avoid conforming, he decided not to take a living, but became lecturer in Lincoln in 1600. Six years after, Smyth left the Anglicans and joined the Gainsborough Separatists, who chose him as their pastor. Persecution caused the congregation to emigrate to Amsterdam. There, Smyth's study of the New Testament convinced him that the Bible knew nothing of infant baptism, but proved rather that the ordinance was to be administered on the profession of repentance. Smyth baptized by affusion first himself, then his followers. Critics castigated him as a self-baptizer (or "se-baptist"), asking him why he did not go to the Waterland Mennonites. Immediately, he opened communications and made application to join the Dutch group. Thomas Helwys and about ten others refused to follow. During the negotiations, Smyth drew up a declaration of faith in which he maintained an Arminian position and in which he espoused the idea of freedom of conscience. He became ill and died in 1612, but through Helwys the group of English Baptists that he had started grew into one of the major denominations.

**Sobor.** See SYNODS, RUSSIAN ORTHODOX.

**Sobriquets.** Epithets or fanciful appellations, in the Middle Ages customarily bestowed upon great scholars, particularly theologians and lawyers, symbolizing their achievements or qualities. In medieval literature, these sobriquets were often used in place of the proper names. Some examples are: The Angelic Doctor (Thomas Aquinas), The Mellifluous Doctor (Bernard of Clairvaux), The Subtle Doctor (Duns Scotus), The Scholastic Doctor (Abelard and others).

**Social Gospel.** A movement, chiefly among American liberal Protestants, to Christianize society by applying the Biblical principles of love and justice to such institutions as the family, the state, and the economy—seeking to redeem corporate as well as individual life. The dates for its major phase were about 1870 to 1918.

Christianity's traditional concern for the needy, based on the teaching and example of Jesus, had become largely a matter of charity to individuals in the late 19th century. There were, however, many instances of previous concern for the social conditions that produced needy individuals: the Old Testament prophets, medieval rules for a "just price," Puritan social regulations, abolitionism, and movements for peace, temperance, and other reforms that flourished before the Civil War. American Protestantism was not generally reform-minded after the Civil War, but a series

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## SOCIAL CONTRACT

A concept used variously to explain, on consensual grounds, the origin, limits, conditions, and purposes of political *authority and obligation. The contract is usually deduced from some conception of *natural law, which serves as the basic reason and ultimate sanction for the agreement, although it has also been put forth on utilitarian grounds to explain political authority in purely conventional terms.

**History.** The Greek *Sophists and the philosophy of *Epicureanism equated nature with self-interest, denied any intrinsic moral virtues, and explained the *state as formed by men to obtain security on the basis of a tacit agreement neither to inflict nor to suffer harm. Against this, *Cicero and the Roman lawyers argued that *justice is an intrinsic good, that political authority arises from the collective power of the people, and that it is always subject to natural law.

*Medieval Theories.* In medieval Europe the contractual basis of political obligation was implied in *feudalism and in the patristic principle that law and government, to be legitimate, must always subserve justice. In the 11th century *Manegold of Lautenbach preached that a people establishes a ruler that he may govern justly; if he violates the agreement, they are absolved from obedience. St. *Thomas Aquinas distinguished (1) the *principium,* or substance, of authority, which is divinely ordained; (2) the *modus* or form of government, which is determined by the corporate people; and (3) the *exercitium* of authority, which must accord with natural law and which is conferred, and can be revoked if misused, by the people. Unlike the Sophists and Epicureans, Aquinas, though regarding the specific form as a matter of free choice, saw government as a dictate of natural law. In the 15th-century conciliar dispute, *Nicholas of Cusa wrote that "if by nature men are equally strong and equally free, the ruler having equal natural power could be set up only by the choice and consent of the others, just as law also is set up by consent" (*De Concordantia Catholica* 2.14).

*Calvinist Theories.* During the Protestant *Reformation the idea of contract took systematic form and became a theory of action for beleaguered minority confessions. Depending on their situations, Calvinists and Catholics resorted to it as a weapon against the theory of the *divine right of kings and as a principle of legitimacy (the Calvinists giving it a strong theological basis). The Huguenot treatise *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (1581) answered the question of what obedience was due from a Christian to a prince commanding action contrary to divine law by arguing for the existence of a twofold contract—one between God and the people binding the people to obey God's will and one between the prince and the people binding the people to obey the prince as long as he obeys God's law. If the prince acts in violation of the second contract, resistance is obligatory, but it is exclusively an aristocratic function. English Puritan theory of the 16th century was connected, in good part, with the federal *covenant theology and in the 17th century was carried in this form to New England, where it served as the basis of the various compacts establishing new communities.

*Counter Reformation Theories.* On the Catholic side, the work of the Jesuits Robert *Bellarmine, Francisco *Suárez, and Juan de *Mariana was most prominent. In extending the arguments of Aquinas, Suárez maintained that the state is a purely natural phenomenon originating in a voluntary union of heads of families by which each assumes the obligation to subserve the *common good. The state depends on God's ordination only insofar as does all of creation. Political power derives from the *community; when it is used to contravene the common good or any other injunction of natural law, it may be resisted. Coupled with the indirect theory of papal power to intervene in temporal affairs, the formulation of Suárez (and of Bellarmine) tended to exalt the divine right of the pope and to set the state apart from theology by explaining it in naturalistic terms. More radical, although not novel, was Mariana's deduction that private citizens have the right to kill usurpers of temporal power.

*Hobbes.* In the 17th century the idea of contract was joined to an individualistic theory of autonomous natural law (*see* NATURAL LAW IN POLITICAL THOUGHT). Thomas *Hobbes, in his *Leviathan,* hypothesized a state of nature wherein men are radically egoistic, perpetually seeking power, and subject to no law, divine or natural. This leads to a *bellum omnium contra omnes* in which life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." Impelled by the desire of self-preservation to seek security and order, men contract with each other to set up a common sovereign to whom they relinquish all their rights. Thus by artifice is set up that "mortal god," the state, which exists not as in the classical tradition as a dictate of nature to help men become good, but as a convention to ensure existence. The desire to live is the fundamental natural right; natural law and the social contract are deductions therefrom that are merely definitive of the conditions of ordered existence. The only real limitation on the sovereign—be he one, few, or many—is the amount of power he can effectively command at any moment. Hobbes's notion of obligation is rooted in interest. Law is the command of the sovereign and is limited only insofar as one is not obliged to obey an order violative of the basic right of self-preservation.

*Locke.* John *Locke, in his second *Treatise of Civil Government,* propounded a contractual theory that proceeded from assumptions similar to Hobbes's but within the framework of transcendent natural law. Locke's state of nature is a condition in which men are free and equal and subject to natural law, the terms of which each judges and enforces. Because of the lack of a common impartial judge and executive, uncertainties and inconveniences arise that can issue in a state of war. To remedy this, men contract to form civil society to protect their property in their lives, liberty, and estates. Government is then set up on a fiduciary basis to protect property; when it acts to the contrary as manifested in a concerted pattern of abuses and usurpations, the people, with the majority as the motive force, may resist. Locke's philosophy underlies the American *Declaration of Independence and constitutions of government; it differs from Hobbes's thought in holding that natural rights can never be surrendered to the state but serve as limitations on political authority. Whereas Hobbes's contract theory issued in *absolutism, Locke's issued in *constitutionalism.

*Hume, Rousseau, and Kant.* In the 18th century David *Hume attacked the theory that political obligation may be binding only if it is accepted voluntarily,



arguing that the obligation to civil obedience cannot be derived from the obligation to keep an agreement but that both are binding because without them an ordered society cannot be attained and that allegiance develops on habitual grounds, reinforced by education. After Hume the idea of contract lost ground in England; it retained vigor in America until attacked in the 19th century by men such as John C. Calhoun. On the Continent Jean Jacques *Rousseau postulated the social contract as a means whereby men retain their original freedom while creating morality by establishing a sovereign the general will of the community. Each surrenders himself entirely to the community with all his rights and property and by giving himself to the whole surrenders to no one. Thus civil society is constituted by the agreement between men to subserve the general will, which leaves each as free as before because he subscribes only to his transformed or ideal self. Because Rousseau recognized no fixed ends in man's nature, the general will is purely formal; its only limitation lies in the requirement of its generality. Accepting Rousseau's premises, Immanuel *Kant viewed the social contract in a metaphysical sense as an instrument relating men to each other so that the freedom of each is compatible with the freedom of all. In this view the social contract is a social imperative prescribing the conditions of free social life rather than a call to action. In the 19th century the idea of contract lost attractiveness because of the growth of historical studies and idealist and evolutionist philosophies.

**Critique.** The idea of a social contract contains two elements, the *pactum unionis,* which forms the body politic, and the *pactum subjectionis,* which organizes political authority in a constitution and government. Catholic thought in the Middle Ages and Calvinist thought emphasized the latter; Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and the rationalists emphasized the former; and Catholic scholastic thought, in developed form (Bellarmine, Suárez), does not separate the two but regards the will to common life in political society as realized in a concrete constitutional order. Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau deny any teleological necessity for the origin of the state in man's nature, seeing authority as rising solely from the wills of the contracting individuals. Catholic thought presupposes families as the basic social units and regards the state as a moral necessity whose concrete realization and organization is the product of man's will. The contract does not create political authority but designates how and by whom it shall be exercised. The state is seen as part of the objective moral order, with human intelligence and will having a role in its construction. It follows that obligation to obedience is not, as with Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, rooted in the contractual promise or in individual interest, but in the objective natural law, which indicates the moral necessity of authority. That history shows that many states were established by force and exist by sheer power and that specific contracts or acts of consent by all within a community never, if ever, occur, does not vitiate the contract theory as a normative explanation of the origin and continued existence of the state. Modern constitutionalism based on the dignity of man recognizes this fact in the emphasis it places on the consensual factor as a limiting and operational principle.

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[A. J. BEITZINGER]

## SOCIAL GOSPEL

The movement in American Protestantism, beginning in the 1870s, that endeavored to answer the challenges presented by the abuses of industrialism. It was also a corrective to the theological individualism and economic conservativism of the churches of that epoch, and an assertion that from the teachings of Jesus Christ the institutions of a just social order can be deduced. Although its theological premises were different, the moral idealism of the social gospel movement and its goals paralleled those of Christian socialism in England, and the efforts of Continental Catholicism that culminated in Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum of May 1, 1891.

The social sympathies of *Unitarians and the utopian perfectionism of *Transcendentalism earlier in the 19th century undoubtedly contributed to the emergence of the social gospel, as did the momentum of the anti-slavery crusade. These humanitarian protests came at a time when labor leaders, socialists, and reformers were attacking Christianity as a class religion concerned primarily with protecting property and ignoring widespread human misery. Moreover, science was eroding the beliefs of theological *fundamentalism, and the recognition was growing that the shocking disparities of wealth were not to be cured by appeals to middle-class piety. A new interpretation of the Christian message was probably inevitable, one addressing itself to the changed world and its problems of the sweatshop, the slum, the company town, and unemployment.

A social order reflecting the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man was the essential demand of the social gospel. The ideas of Horace *Bushnell directly influenced Washington Gladden, who, along with W. D. P. Bliss, gave a new orientation to American Protestantism at the end of the century. Their voices were subsequently joined by those of George D. Herron, Walter *Rauschenbusch, and Shailer *Mathews. In a movement climaxed in December 1908, the overwhelming majority of churches of the evangelical tradition formed the *National (originally called Federal) Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. to secure, as the preamble to its Constitution declared, "a larger combined influence for the Churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life."

The reforms advocated by the exponents of the social gospel were gradual ones. Their goals, partly because of the moral energy they released, have been incorporated into national legislation. Their oversimple belief in the essential goodness of man and in his responsiveness to moral suasion, along with their lack of

realism as to the magnitude and complexity of the problems they optimistically analyzed and prematurely "solved," ultimately weakened confidence in the social gospel. Its energies were dissipated in efforts to impose national prohibition. Attacks on its theological adequacy by the disciples of Karl Barth, and on its political naïvete by Reinhold Niebuhr, further weakened the movement (*see* BARTHIANISM). But its activist emphasis and its concern for justice among men left a characteristic stamp on American Protestantism.

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[E. DUFF]

## SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The word institution is used in a variety of ways, but in every instance the idea of conformity to norms is either explicit or implicit. According to two common sociological usages, institutions are (1) groups that perform persistent functions, e.g., the family, the government, or (2) complexes of norms, e.g., marriage, property, collective bargaining, that serve as standards of behavior in groups that perform persistent functions. In popular usage the word may refer to services associated with certain kinds of physical property, e.g., schools, hospitals, museums, business firms; or to people or things that are well established in some customary relationship, e.g., the local librarian, the cable cars in San Francisco, the holy water font at the door of a church. In these usages there are certain elements that recur, namely, custom, expected behavior patterns, functional specificity, order, establishment, tradition, and shared expectations. In still other usages, when reference is made to the institution of the Sacraments or of a new program of action, for example, it is the act of initiating a pattern of behavior that is referred to; this expression locates the source and moment of institution (often hidden in unrecorded history). A particular ecclesiastical usage, namely, the investing of a clergyman with the spiritual part of his benefice by which the care of souls is committed to his charge, has fallen into disuse.

**Institutionalist School in Jurisprudence.** In the second decade of the 20th century there arose in France a philosophical school composed mainly of Roman Catholic jurists reacting against the extreme sociological realism of Émile *Durkheim. In treating the evident influence of shared cultural definitions of situations and internalized normative expectations, especially those developed in public assemblages such as religious services, Durkheim seemed to reject the capacity of the individual to act independently of his acquired culture. The institutionalists, among whom Maurice *Hauriou was the major figure, examined in detail the social groupings that stem from the institutionalization of ideas about how a task ought to be performed. Hauriou defined institutions both as systems of rules of conduct and as social groups governed by such systems. The latter usage was predominant in his work, in which there is a Platonic assumption that although several group members may have somewhat different conceptions of how a task ought to be performed, the idea as it is worked out in the behavior of the group has an objectivity independent of the perceptions of the founders and members simply because it is grounded in group behavior. Hauriou held that organization is the essential element of institutional reality, which consists of conformity to shared normative patterns that are invented and learned through the interaction of the members. The need to postulate a group mind or a group will in the institution itself thus becomes superfluous. This distinction repudiating the impersonal forces seemingly implied by Durkheim was based upon the Thomist theory of personality. Hauriou pointed out that an institution persists as long as the essential organizing idea is shared by a sufficient number of group members, even though the founders are no longer present. Georges Renard, another member of the school, emphasized that the institution as the communion of men in an idea did not abolish any man's individuality as a rational being. He found the basis of the social relation among the group members to be in the sharing of the institutional principle, giving the members a property they otherwise would not have. René Clemens and J. T. Delos, OP, followed the same analysis. The weakness of the institutional school is its tendency to equate legal order and social order, so that the norms perceived as institutionalized do not include informal norms sanctioned by members of a group without explicit formal adoption. Hauriou in fact defined an institution as "an idea of an undertaking or enterprise which is realized and endures juridically in a social milieu" [*Cahiers de Nouvelle Journée* 4 (1925) 10].

**Pioneer Sociological Definitions.** The history of the term institution in sociology illustrates the complexity of the first sociological task, the isolation of the elements that interact in social processes. William Graham Sumner, focusing on the nonrational roots of customs and mores, presented institutions as concepts implemented by structures, sometimes through enactment but usually through what he called crescive growth. His analysis was incomplete and imprecise, but there is still no consensus among sociologists on the precise meaning of the term.

Charles Horton Cooley considered how specific institutions, such as language, government, religion, law, education, and industrial systems, express permanent needs of human nature and are reflected in the individual as habits of mind and of action that are largely unconscious because they are so commonly accepted. He pointed out that individuals both create institutions and are in turn shaped by them as social habits are formed in interaction with significant others. In J. O. Hertzler's formulation, while institutions constitute the structure of a group, individually they are responses to basic needs that are defined as self-preservation, self-perpetuation, and self-expression. Cooley noted that the first step in the recognition of new rights or the achievement of moral progress is always revolt against existing institutions, that is, against existing rules for carrying out functions. The rejection of certain rules and the acceptance of others leads people to develop new institutions through interaction with one another. Social thinkers in the early 20th century were so influenced by Social Darwinism that they tended to be selectively concerned about social change in the direction of improved conditions and failed to acknowledge that people can perpetuate less effective as well as more effective institutions.

Although Sumner's stress on the coerciveness of the rule of custom over the individual is like Durkheim's theory in giving the impression of forces acting independently of specific actors, Sigmund Freud's explanation of identification, George H. Mead's concept of the generalized other, and Cooley's "looking-glass self" have supplied psychological hypotheses to explain the persistence of institutions as patterns of action imbedded in personality structure. This is the problem of internalization. Sumner, however, developed the social parallel of internalization, namely, institutionalization. According to him, property, marriage, and religion, three of the primary institutions, began as folkways, that is, as habitual ways in which groups solved consistently the recurring problems of daily living. In time these ways were idealized as especially good and blessed by the gods. When self-conscious reflection developed some rationale for their relevance to social welfare, they became mores, that is, ethically valued norms. Only when they were more definite and specific and perpetuated by enforceable rules did they become institutions, which are exemplified especially in law. Thus the process of institutionalization was presented as beginning with unconscious habits and ending with conscious systems of rules and procedural steps explicitly expressed and sanctioned. Sociologists now consider one function of values to be the legitimatization of institutions. Sumner did not even raise the question of whether values suggest and set limits to the norms selected; he stressed instead the development of the institution from the process of interaction and clearly denounced any effort to enact social rules. The Darwinian assumptions in Sumner's famous article on "The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over" (1894) reinforced the laissez-faire tendencies of the late 19th century and helped to postpone the introduction of social legislation in the U.S. to the 1930s. On the other hand, his portrayal of the dependence of formal legislation upon social consensus deeply rooted in personal socialization could be used to explain the failure of the prohibition amendment and, later, resistance to civil rights legislation. The Sumnerian assumption that institutions must arise naturally leads to resistance to the enactment of such legislation.

In practice, legal enactments have been found to have an educative function. The Wagner Act of 1937, for example, introduced governmental protection of the rights of the working man to a just share in the fruits of his labor. Although it met the resistance of the institutionalized individualism founded upon the theory of the economic man, it served as a teaching device to change community attitudes in the direction of social justice. This educative function of effort to enact legislation when the community is not yet psychologically ready to accept a change in institutions was illustrated also in the prelude to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The bill was in conformity with American values of freedom and equality but contradicted local customs and institutions of segregation, discrimination, and prejudice against Negroes and other minority groups. Its passage exemplified the social struggle involved in the establishment of new institutions in a society in which old norms are discovered to contradict cherished values. Conservative institutions, i.e., those resulting from long periods of growth and unconscious formation, are deeply rooted in the emotional components of group processes, hence harder to change.

**Contemporary Sociological Definitions.** Among sociologists concerned with the theory of institutions, some focus upon analysis of organizations and behavior and others are more interested in cultural patterns guiding behavior. The culturally oriented define an institution as "a comparatively enduring and formal configuration of prescriptions, beliefs, and practices regarded by the group as essential for the maintenance of its structure and basic values" [G. A. Lundberg, C. C. Shrag, O. N. Larsen, *Sociology* (3d ed. New York 1963) 475]. Talcott Parsons expresses the same idea when he says that institutions are "normative patterns which define what are felt to be . . . proper, legitimate, or expected modes of action or of social relationships" (*Essays* 203). Among those who emphasize the normative (cultural) element in institutions, some clearly differentiate norms from behavior and others do not. Behaviorally, institutions can be considered as standardized solutions to recurring problems. For sociologists who adhere to *behaviorism, institutions as normative patterns are fictions. Among those who define institutions as normative patterns some, like Parsons, include all such patterns, and others, like Robert MacIver, limit institutions to systems of control that extend beyond personal relations to impersonal associational relations. MacIver's definition is similar to Sumner's. Unlike simple customs, institutions, according to MacIver and Sumner, are characterized by more definite recognition. Hence the difference between institution and custom is one of degree.

Florian Znaniecki, finding it impossible to introduce order into what he considered "terminological chaos," noted that institutions are basic forms of moral order but that some sociologists make of them categories in a telic system. Thus the assumption prior to investigation that every society must have institutions related to the family, the economy, the polity, religion, education, recreation, etc., is based upon latent philosophical theories. Assumptions that institutions develop out of basic biological and psychological needs, prespecified and ordered, are derived from similar sources. Recent structural-functional analysis, in which the term institution is used with central emphasis upon the teleological aspect, seeks to avoid such assumptions by reference not to telic elements as such but to data revealing consensus among actors in situations with reference to how roles should be played. Like the behavior institutionalized, the institution itself is created and developed through communication in social interaction, and this interaction takes limited, patterned forms. In modern theories, therefore, institutions and other aspects of social structure are related to the requirements or problems of the social system as such, not merely to assumed enduring human needs, as in the older works of Cooley, Hertzler, Malinowski, and others. The relation of the social system and the personality system is another problem for investigation that is manifest.

Most sociologists tend to reserve the term institution for normative patterns designating legitimate and expected modes of action and use the term *association

An Encyclopedia of Religion Ed. Vere Anselm Ferm - Philos. Library NY 1945



criticism and of comparative method in the study of Semitic religions. J.P.H.

**smriti:** Revelation of a lower grade than *sruti* in Hinduism. Smriti is regarded as sacred literature, but not on the same level as *sruti**. The *sutra* literature (See Manu, Laws of) for example is *smriti*, so also the Epics and Puranas.* C.S.B.

**Smyth, Egbert Coffin:** (1829-1904) Graduated Bowdoin College, 1848; Bangor Theological Seminary, 1854; Professor of Natural Religion and Revelation, Bowdoin College 1856-1863; Ecclesiastical History, Andover Theological Seminary, 1863-1904, president of the Faculty, leading founder and editor of *The Andover Review*, 1884-1894.

Charged, together with other members of the Faculty, with departure from the Creed of Andover Seminary by the Board of Visitors in 1887, Smyth appealed to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and was acquitted in 1901.

Author of editorials and articles in *The Andover Review*, co-author, *Progressive Orthodoxy* (1885); author, *The Andover Defence* (1891), defining the principles for the interpretation of Creeds. See biographical sketch in J. W. Buckham's *Progressive Religious Trought in America* (1919). See Andover Controversy, The. J.W.B.

**Smyth, Newman:** (1843-1925) Graduate of Bowdoin College, 1863; served with the 16th Maine Volunteers, 1864; graduated, Andover Theological Seminary, 1867.

Pastor of the historic First Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn., 1882-1907.

One of the leaders of the New Theology* in New England.

His books represent the following advance movements:

(1) Emphasis on the return to Intuition and Progress in Theology: *The Religious Feeling* (1877); *Old Faith in New Light* (1879); (2) The religious interpretation of Science: *The Place of Death in Evolution* (1897); *Through Science to Faith* (1902); *Constructive Natural Theology* (1913); (3) Church Unity: *Passing Protestantism* and *Coming Catholicism* (1908); (4) Emphasis upon Personality: *The Meaning of Personal Life* (1916). Biographical sketch in J. W. Buckham, *Progressive Religious Thought in America* (1919). J.W.B.

**social action:** See social work of the churches.

**social anthropology:** See anthropology.

**social ethics:** The study of the functioning of social institutions in so far as such functioning is regarded as morally good or bad, right or wrong. In its concern for the finding and correlation of facts, it is scientific; in its concern for critical evaluation of the norms appealed to within the social process, it is philosophical; in its concern for particular methods of social improvement, it is practical. Social ethics therefore brings together into one discipline the fields of the social sciences and of theoretical and applied ethics*. Although the term itself is of recent origin, the criticism of existing social institutions or of institutional practices is as old, within western culture, as the 8th and 7th Century Hebrew Prophets. More explicitly, its foundations as a theoretical science were laid in Plato's *Republic* and *The Laws* and in Aristotle's *Politics*. In the modern period it has had a utopian phase, represented by such works as More's *Utopia* (1516), Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), and Saint-Simon's *The New Christianity* (1825), and its present, increasingly solid, scientific phase, rooting in the work of Karl Marx (*Das Kapital*, 1867). Social ethics is distinguished from Christian Ethics* in its concern with social institutions and conditions *qua* social, rather than with both social and personal morality, and in its approach to these as secular rather than religious problems. Among the important controversial issues in the field today are the following: 1) whether the institution (social environment*) or individual character (heredity* plus personal choices) is the primary determinant in social behavior; 2) whether norms of social morality can, in some sense, be defined objectively and universally, or whether they are exclusively relative to the cultural context in which they emerge; 3) whether such norms, however defined, can be used, through the educational process, in the realization of gradual and deliberate social evolution or whether significant change must necessarily come violently as antagonistic social forces move toward resolution; and 4) whether structural change in institutions can of itself socialize human motivation. Cf. haustafel.

F. G. Peabody, *The Approach to the Social Question* (1909); L. T. Hobhouse, *The Elements of Social Justice* (1922); R. Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932); J. H. Tufts, *America's Social Morality* (1933); P. A. Sorokin, *Man and Society in Calamity* (1942). E.T.R.

**social gospel:** This term appears in the late nineteenth century being popularized by the Christian Commonwealth Community as the title of its monthly magazine, 1897-1900. But the ancestry of this trend of sincere Christians to make Christian faith and love dynamic in contemporary life and especially in promoting the welfare of workers is reaction to the individualization of the gospel accompanying the rise of the modern age.

Ecclesiastical control of the economic and social life began to decline with the coming of Protestantism*, democracy, economic liberalism and public education. By mid-seventeenth century the church was sanctioning the taking of interest and religious toleration and liberty were depriving the churches of earlier exercised social applications of Christian ethics. In Geneva and Massachusetts Calvinism* introduced bibliocracies. Elsewhere it denoted the acceptance of status as willed by God. Long ago it should have been observed that just as the churches lose their socio-economic jurisdiction, the word "gospel" takes on a strange novel meaning. As early as 1652, "gospel" signifies something serving as "guide to human action". Jonathan Edwards* a century later divorces religion from society. This desocialization of Christianity by 1790 turned "gospel" into a "doctrine preached with fervor as a means of social and political action". Thereupon Thomas Carlyle* could refer to a "gospel of economy" and Frederick Denison Maurice* plead for a kingdom of God within a dead church and Charles Kingsley* emphasize freedom, equality and brotherliness as demands of the gospel.

After 1848 in consequence of the February Revolution, Maurice, Kingsley, and Ludlow headed a movement known as *Christian Socialists**, while Saint Simon* twenty-five years earlier defined the core of the gospel to be brotherliness. Meanwhile Marx* had launched his theory of society upon boisterous waves. In 1849, Christians in Germany became interested in socialism*, called attention to the guilt of the churches regarding social issues and demanded Christian love and responsibility in expiation. Some four or five competing social interpretations can be traced in Germany.

Between 1731 and 1830 the only interest in articles in American religious journals concerned with peace, slavery, prison reform, improvement of the lot of seamen, temperance and such like is "the rescue of the individual by an emotional religious experience rather than any definite application of the teachings of Jesus to the social order". Then Channing, Bushnell, and Parker** discuss social problems vehemently and the Brook Farm Association, 1841, organizes to "apply principles of justice and love to our social organization in accordance with the laws of Divine Providence". Stephen Colwell and Edward Chapman follow with Gladden, Herron, Henderson, Mathews*, Batten, Rauschenbusch* and a host of others keeping them company.

The fatal error of Rauschenbusch and his group was to identify Jesus' view of the kingdom of God* with the twentieth century evolutionary hypothesis. Jesus thought of the kingdom as "principally in the future and wholly in the realm of miracle." In seven items, Rauschenbusch differed from Marx: 1) Positive religious faith; 2) Value of the church; 3) Necessity of regeneration; 4) Reality of spiritual forces; 5) Moral responsibility of the individual; 6) Sanctity of the family; 7) Insistence upon prohibition. After accepting evolution and science, this group refused to be scientific in its view of the kingdom of God and thus lost the war to fundamentalism* and economic reaction. See also Christian Social Union; communistic settlements.

Abraham Cronbach, *The Bible and Our Social Outlook* (1941); C. H. Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism*, 1865-1915 (1940); C. E. Hudson, and M. B. Reckitt, *The Church and the World*, II, III (1940); F. E. Johnson, *The Social Gospel Re-examined* (1940); M. C. Latta, "Background for the Social Gospel in American Protestantism," *Church History* (1936), p. 256 ff.; Ola E. Winslow, *Jonathan Edwards*, 1703-1758 (1940). C.H.M.

**social work of the churches:** A term designating the agencies and techniques through which the social motive finds expression in religious groups, including the maintenance of hospitals, homes, and settlements, case work with families and individuals, group work, social education, and social action. The social work of Catholic, Protestant (for the modern development of theoretical basis in Protestantism, see article on the *Social Gospel*), and Jewish communions is based upon the social and ethical teachings of the Old and New Testaments and on the communal traditions of early Christianity. Within Christianity, however, this early communal emphasis was soon obscured as the church became absorbed in defining its doctrine and perfecting its organization. Also, the ascetic* spirit within Christianity, the popular views of poverty as a divinely established condition to be relieved rather than removed and of almsgiving as a penance of value to the donor in the next world rather than to the recipient in this, tended to place the emphasis in practical Christianity upon individual redemption rather than upon the redemption of the social order. Nevertheless, the rise of monasteries and hospitals as institutions for the poor, sick, infirm, aged, and orphans, the emphasis on the ransoming of captives, the ecclesiastical attempts to preserve peace and to regulate industry and commerce in the interest of justice and human welfare, and the rise of parish charity and spontaneous individual almsgiving, bear testimony to the widespread concern of the medieval church with human suffering.

However, with the decay of feudalism*, the confiscation of the monasteries and other sources of Catholic charity, and the rise of modern capitalism, industrialism, and urbanization, distress was greatly augmented. The haphazard efforts of parochial and individual charity were no longer adequate, and relief became increasingly a function of the municipalities and later of the national states. During this period the Catholic Church laid the foundations for its modern charitable and institutional enterprises, while the Protestant Reformation and the outbreak of new sects with their interest in the restoration of the primitive church in faith and practice, often including its communistic features, contributed to the development of the social conception of Christianity. During the seventeenth century and later the Quakers* especially became apostles of love and justice among men, crusaders against slavery and war, and on behalf of prison reform, popular education, and the social care of the insane and the defective.

The rise of modern secular social work in England and America since the middle of last century, with its emphasis upon investigation, attention to causes, individualized treatment, self-help, record-keeping, and cooperation of agencies, owes much to the religious motivation of many of its founders. It has also reacted upon the social work of religious groups in certain fundamental ways common to them all. In the first place, they have all adapted the new principles and techniques to their traditional types of service. This is seen in the enlarged scope of hospital services, in the gradual substitution of home care of children and the aged for the earlier institutional types, in the adoption of case work techniques in dealing with individuals and families and in the willingness to surrender the functions

Sermons in Am. History
ED Dewitt Holland
Abingdon Press, 1971
Nash. Tenn.

# 11

## The Social Gospel: Preaching Reform 1875-1915

*William Bos*
*Clyde Faries*

As Americans struggled to adjust to industrialization, the church battled to maintain its influence upon their lives. Social, economic, and political upheavals, however, so dominated the years from 1875 to 1915 and class consciousness so permeated attitudes and actions, that Christian leaders encountered increasing difficulty in persuading people to look to the church for leadership. Workers formed unions; industrialists formed cooperatives. The producing class became silverites; the controllers of production became monometalists. The poor grew wretched; the wealthy grew greedy. The deprived looked for aid and comfort from the pulpit; the rich demanded loyalty to the gospel of wealth from their preachers.

Corporate profits climbed higher and higher while farmers, laborers, and small businessmen sank lower and lower in the economy. Farmers saw their produce drop in price by more than a third from 1873 to 1896, while the amount they paid for manufactured goods rose by a similar amount. They saw their families hungry and ill-clothed, while the wealthy spoke of the healthy economy. Workers, already inadequately paid, found themselves replaced by imported labor, and they were dis-





satisfied. Small businessmen pressured from their shops by powerful combinations, tried unsuccessfully to compete in the overcrowded labor market, and they were depressed. As the gulf widened between the poor and the wealthy, ministers of the gospel searched for the way to give spiritual guidance that would avert social disruption.

The pulpit extended little support to labor, prison reform voting, temperance, and monetary reform movements at the outset. When labor disputes burst into street violence, pulpits rang with bitter denunciation of those unwilling to accept "their station in life." Some ministers called for the Gatling gun to be used indiscriminately against those who would disturb the public tranquility by their wage demands. In fact, something of a national crusade was aroused by the Grangers' revolt, the railway strike of 1877, and the Haymarket riot. Such church organs as the *Watchman*, the *Independent*, the *Congregationalist*, the *Christian Advocate* and the *Christian Union* spoke as one great chorus calling for bullets and bayonets to be used without mercy against those making public protest against low wages.

Many ministers urged the producing class to accept poverty without trying to reform the social and economic order. The poor merely needed to tighten their belts and learn to want less, counseled these preachers, for if God had not meant them to have less he would have given them more. Besides, others argued, poverty needed to exist in abundance so that the wealthy could express their Christianity through charity to the needy.

But a few used the pulpit to launch a crusade against social and economic inequities. They wanted to change sweatshops into well-ordered places of work, to take children from the factories and put them in school. They preached that laborers and farmers must organize and demand a greater share of the wealth they produced. Peter Dietz, John Ryan, Walter Rauschenbusch, George Herron, William Kerby, Washington Gladden, Samuel Fielden, and William Carwardine, among others, worked for the kind of reform that they believed would infuse a "love-thy-neighbor-as-thyself" attitude into the business world.

Most preachers ignored the gathering storm of class conflict. They urged people to be saved, explained doctrine, pictured the glories of heaven, and warned of the torments of hell, but did not mention the crises that tore at the soul of the country. The church is a house of worship, not a union hall, they maintained, and the minister is a preacher of the Gospel, not a political advocate. A popular theme explained that if everyone were to accept Christ, there would be no need for reform movements. Published sermons of the era are mostly untimely and often innocuous.

Time, reason, declining church membership, decreasing influence of ministers, worsening economic conditions, and persistence of reformers, however, gradually forced the church to change. Changes were slight at first but soon swept over most American pulpits. Fewer preachers denounced the strike of 1886 than did the strike of 1877, and those who did condemn the 1886 labor action did so with less vehemence. Those who had preached the gospel of wealth now were saying that a man's value lay not in his control of material goods but in his usefulness to others. Church papers that twenty years earlier had called for use of the Gatling gun against strikers now blamed manufacturers for heartless, arbitrary, and ruthless acts against striking employees. Many who had carefully skirted worldly controversy now found some good in the new social gospel. By the turn of the century many ministers had developed a new, compassionate attitude toward the plight of the poor. They believed that the church should give Christian leadership to reform movements, and they viewed the Bible as a guide to social reform.

Social gospelers reasserted the spiritual leadership of the pulpit. By condemning those who wronged the poor and by urging all to work for improvement of living conditions for everyone, ministers slowed the trend of the church toward following rather than guiding public opinion. In so doing they found approval among the wealthy as well as among the poor. The church had erred by fighting farm and labor movements, argued these social gospelers, and it should now make amends by





actively seeking equality for everyone, especially in law, education, and physical care.

They pumped new enthusiasm into the pulpit by associating Jesus Christ with the preacher of reform. Jesus fought disease, ignorance, and poverty, they told congregations, and it was high time that Christians should follow in his steps. A man cannot amass wealth or wisdom without the aid of his fellows, and should only use his talents and his goods to make the world a more livable place for everyone. Some advocated making the church more homelike so that it would be more inviting to people and would serve as the very spring of reform activity. The most visionary of the social gospelers even looked forward to the day when poverty, disease, and jails would no longer exist.

The age of reform was an era of great preachers. Henry Van Dyke, Dwight Moody, Peter Dietz, John Ryan, Walter Rauschenbusch, George Herron, William Kerby, Washington Gladden, Russell Conwell, William Lawrence, Alexander Maclaren, Nathaniel Butler, Charles Finney, and Shailer Mathews, to name but a few, electrified congregations with their Christian advocacy. As leadership in the church moved from those fighting reform to the social gospelers, two groups maintained the greatest congregational support. Whereas the reformers and the antireformers intensified the atmosphere within the church, it was those who remained silent on social issues and the moderates who were heard most frequently in the pulpit. The preaching of Henry Van Dyke, Dwight L. Moody, and Washington Gladden represent the efforts of the majority of ministers. Moody offered people frustrated by industrialization an escape into Christ; Van Dyke offered them the challenge of Christ; Gladden agitated for a stronger commitment to carry out Christ's work. Moody advised people to accept Christ and thereby attain the strength to face life's problems; Van Dyke identified accepting Christ with accepting the duty to try to solve economic and social problems; Gladden admonished all to seek Christ by rejecting greed and strife and administering the law of brotherly love.

*Henry Van Dyke was virtually born into the ministry. At the time of his birth, November 10, 1852, his father was a prominent Presbyterian preacher in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and his family had a long history of church leadership. At Princeton University young Henry Van Dyke won acclaim as a scholar in English and as a public speaker. After receiving his M.A. Degree at Princeton, he studied theology at the University of Berlin.*

*Although he served only two churches in his career, he became one of the best known preachers in the country. After serving only two years at the United Presbyterian Church in Newport, R.I., be moved to the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City, where he remained from 1882 until 1900. In New York, he tripled the membership within a few years and often had congregations so large that they spilled over into the street to hear his sermons. He was the university preacher at Princeton, Cornell, Harvard, and Amherst and a lecturer at Yale. He was probably the most popular commencement speaker in the United States.*

*A noted writer of both prose and poetry, a successful teacher, and an author and editor of best-selling English textbooks, he was capable of challenging the intellect of the most sophisticated listeners. As a cautious liberal, he helped lead his church into the era of the social gospel. Although an artist, he never cared more for his art than for his people.*

## Salt *

BACCALAUREATE SERMON, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, JUNE, 1898

Text: "*Ye are the salt of the earth.*"—MATTHEW 5:13.

This figure of speech is plain and pungent. Salt is savory, purifying, preservative. It is one of those superfluities which the great French wit defined as "things that are very necessary." From the very beginning of human history men have set a high value upon it and sought for it in caves and by the seashore. The nation that had a good supply of it was counted rich. A bag of salt, among the barbarous tribes, was worth more than a man. The Jews prized it especially because they lived in a warm climate where food was difficult to keep, and because their religion laid particular emphasis on cleanliness, and because salt was largely used in their sacrifices.

* *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*, ed. Edwin DuBois Shurter (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906), pp. 325-36.





Christ chose an image which was familiar when He said to His disciples, "Ye are the salt of the earth." This was His conception of their mission, their influence. They were to cleanse and sweeten the world in which they lived, to keep it from decay, to give a new and more wholesome flavor to human existence. Their character was not to be passive, but active. The sphere of its action was to be this present life. There is no use in saving salt for heaven. It will not be needed there. Its mission is to permeate, season, and purify things on earth. . . .

Men of privilege without power are waste material. Men of enlightenment without influence are the poorest kind of rubbish. Men of intellectual and moral and religious culture, who are not active forces for good in society, are not worth what it costs to produce and keep them. If they pass for Christians they are guilty of obtaining respect under false pretenses. They were meant to be the salt of the earth. And the first duty of salt is to be salty.

This is the subject on which I want to speak to you today. The saltiness of salt is the symbol of a noble, powerful, truly religious life. . . .

Think, first, of the influence for good which men of intelligence may exercise in the world if they will only put their culture to the right use. Half the troubles of mankind come from ignorance—ignorance which is systematically organized with societies for its support and newspapers for its dissemination—ignorance which consists less in not knowing things than in willfully ignoring the things that are already known. There are certain physical diseases which would go out of existence in ten years if people would only remember what has been learned. There are certain political and social plagues which are propagated only in the atmosphere of shallow self-confidence and vulgar thoughtlessness. There is a yellow fever of literature specially adapted and prepared for the spread of shameless curiosity, incorrect information, and complacent idiocy among all classes of the population. Persons who fall under the influence of this pest become so triumphantly ignorant that they cannot distinguish between news and knowledge. They develop a morbid thirst for printed matter, and the more they read the less they learn. They are fit soil for the bacteria of folly and fanaticism.

Now the men of thought, of cultivation, of reason in the community ought to be an antidote to these dangerous influences. Having been instructed in the lessons of history and science and philosophy they are bound to contribute their knowledge to the service of society. As a rule they are willing enough to do this for pay, in the professions of law and medicine and teaching and divinity. What I plead for is the wider, nobler, unpaid service which an educated man renders to society simply by being thoughtful and by helping other men to think.

The college men of a country ought to be its most conservative men; that is to say, the men who do most to conserve it. They ought to be the men whom demagogues cannot inflame nor political bosses pervert. They ought to bring wild theories to the test of reason, and withstand rash experiments with obstinate prudence. When it is proposed, for example, to enrich the whole nation by debasing its currency, they should be the men who demand time to think whether real wealth can be created by artificial legislation. And if they succeed in winning time to think, the danger will pass—or rather it will be transformed into some other danger requiring a new application of the salt of intelligence. For the fermenting activity of ignorance is so incessant, and perpetual thoughtfulness is the price of social safety. . . .

Think, in the second place, of the duty which men of moral principle owe to society in regard to the evils which corrupt and degrade it. Of the existence of these evils we need to be reminded again and again, just because we are comparatively clean and decent and upright people. Men who live an orderly life are in great danger of doing nothing else. We wrap our virtue up in little bags of respectability and keep it in the storehouse of a safe reputation. But if it is genuine virtue it is worthy of a better use than that. It is fit, nay it is designed and demanded, to be used as salt, for the purifying of human life.

There are multitudes of our fellowmen whose existence is dark, confused, and bitter. Some of them are groaning under the burden of want; partly because of their own idleness or incapacity, no doubt, but partly also because of the rapacity, greed, and injustice of other men. Some of them are tortured in bondage to vice; partly by their own false choice, no doubt, but partly also for want of guidance and good counsel and human sympathy. Every great city contains centers of moral decay which an honest man cannot think of without horror, pity, and dread. The trouble is that many honest folk dislike these emotions so much that they shut their eyes and walk through the world with their heads in the air, breathing a little atmosphere of their own, and congratulating themselves that the world goes very well now. But is it well that the things which eat the heart out of manhood and womanhood should go on in all our great towns?

> Is it well that while we range with science, glorying in the time,
> City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?
> There, among the glooming alleys, progress halts on palsied feet;
> Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousand on the street.





> There the smoldering fire of fever creeps across the rotted floor,
> And the crowded couch of incest, in the warrens of the poor.

Even in what we call respectable society, forces of corruption are at work. Are there no unrighteous practices in business, no false standards in social life, no licensed frauds and falsehoods in politics, no vile and vulgar tendencies in art and literature and journalism, in this sunny and self-complacent modern world of which we are a part? All these things are signs of decay. The question for us as men of salt is: What are we going to do to arrest and counteract these tendencies? It is not enough for us to take a negative position in regard to them. If our influence is to be real, it must be positive. It is not enough to say "Touch not the unclean thing." On the contrary, we must touch it, as salt touches decay to check and overcome it. Good men are not meant to be simply like trees planted by rivers of water, flourishing in their own pride and for their own sake. They ought to be like the eucalyptus trees which have been set out in the marshes of the Campagna, from which a healthful, tonic influence is said to be diffused to countervail the malaria. They ought to be like the tree of paradise, "whose leaves are for the healing of nations."

Where good men are in business, lying and cheating and gambling should be more difficult, truth and candor and fair dealing should be easier and more popular, just because of their presence. Where good men are in society, grossness of thought and speech ought to stand rebuked, high ideals and courtliness and chivalrous actions and "the desire of fame and all that makes a man" ought to seem at once more desirable and more attainable to everyone who comes into contact with them. . . .

There is a loftier ambition than merely to stand high in the world. It is to stoop down and lift mankind a little higher. There is a nobler character than that which is merely incorruptible. It is the character which acts as an antidote and preventive of corruption. Fearlessly to speak the words which bear witness to righteousness and truth and purity; patiently to do the deeds which strengthen virtue and kindle hope in your fellowmen; generously to lend a hand to those who are trying to climb upward; faithfully to give your support and your personal help to the efforts which men are making to elevate and purify the social life of the world,—that is what it means to have salt in your character. And that is the way to make your life interesting and savory and powerful. The men that have been happiest, and the men that are best remembered, are the men that have done good.

What the world needs today is not a new system of ethics. It is simply a larger number of people who will make a steady effort to live up to the

system that they have already. There is plenty of room for heroism in the plainest kind of duty. The greatest of all wars has been going on for centuries. It is the ceaseless, glorious conflict against the evil that is in the world. Every warrior who will enter that age-long battle may find a place in the army, and win his spurs, and achieve honor, and obtain favor with the great Captain of the Host, if he will but do his best to make his life purer and finer for every one that lives. . . .

It remains only to speak briefly, in the third place, of the part which religion ought to play in the purifying, preserving, and sweetening of society. . . .

Religion is something which a man cannot invent for himself, nor keep to himself. If it does not show in his conduct it does not exist in his heart. If he has just barely enough of it to save himself alone, it is doubtful whether he has even enough for that. Religion ought to bring out and intensify the flavor of all that is best in manhood, and make it fit, to use Wordsworth's noble phrase, "For human nature's daily food." Good citizens, honest workmen, cheerful comrades, true friends, gentle men,—that is what the product of religion should be. And the power that produces such men is the great antiseptic of society, to preserve it from decay.

Decay begins in discord. It is the loss of balance in an organism. One part of the system gets too much nourishment, another part too little. Morbid processes are established. Tissues break down. In their debris all sorts of malignant growths take root. Ruin follows. . . .

Some people say that another revolution is coming in our own age and our own country. It is possible. There are signs of it. There has been a tremendous increase of luxury among the rich in the present generation. There has been a great increase of suffering among the poor in certain sections of our country. It was a startling fact that nearly six millions of people in 1896 cast a vote of practical discontent with the present social and commercial order. It may be that we are on the eve of a great overturning. I do not know. I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet. But I know that there is one thing that can make a revolution needless, one thing that is infinitely better than any revolution, and that is a real revival of religion—the religion that has already founded the hospital and the asylum and the free school, the religion that has broken the fetters of the slave and lifted womanhood out of bondage and degradation, and put the arm of its protection around the helplessness and innocence of childhood, the religion that proves its faith by its works, and links the preaching of the fatherhood of God to the practice of the brotherhood of man. That religion is true Christianity, with plenty of salt in it which has not lost its savor.



# WASHINGTON GLADDEN

*Washington Gladden was born in 1836 and lived to the age of 82. Apparently, from an early age he prepared himself for the Christian ministry, for after graduation from Williams College he taught in the public schools for only a short time, meanwhile reading in theology, and was ordained to the Congregational ministry in 1860.*

*While he may not have been a profound scholar, he was one who tried to keep abreast of his time, and he saw the function of Christianity and the Church to be the molding of perfect man in a perfect society; and he found it impossible to separate individual man from his society. He believed the Kingdom of Heaven to include all of life; hence, it could not come into being except through a regenerate society.*

*He saw the institutional Church as an agency to improve the quality of society and its institutions; he had a keen awareness of the needs of mankind, collectively. He saw this application of Christian truth, not as antagonistic, but as complementary to preaching to individuals.*

*Gladden has long been recognized as one of the first and strongest of the "social gospelers." The following sermon has been selected to illustrate his philosophy of Christianity and the thrust of his preaching.*

## Spiritual Law in the Natural World *

*And when even was come, the disciples came to him, saying, The place is desert, and the time is already past; send the multitudes away, that they may go into the villages, and buy themselves food. But Jesus said unto them, They have no need to go away; give ye them to eat. And they say unto him, We have here but five loaves and two fishes. And he said, Bring them hither to me. And he commanded the multitudes to sit down on the grass; and he took the five loaves and two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed and brake and gave the loaves to the disciples, and the disciples to the multitudes. And they did all eat and were filled; and they took up that which remained over of the broken pieces, twelve baskets full. And they that did eat were about five thousand men, besides women and children.*—MATT. 14:15-21

I do not wish to discuss with you this morning the miraculous features of this narrative. Suppose I should convince you that this thing here described

* *Where Does the Sky Begin* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904), pp. 267 ff.

could not have happened: what value would there be in that demonstration? Suppose that I should convince you that it did happen; how much would that help you? You, at least, have no expectation that anything of the sort will ever happen to you. Loaves are never going to be multiplied in your larder by miracle. It is only by labor that the supply can be maintained. Let us rather take the story as an illustration of a spiritual law. . . .

Christ's parables bring before us the similitude between certain physical facts and certain spiritual facts. . . . Between those spiritual laws which we know and those physical laws which we know, there are similitudes, and there are also contrasts. . . . Let us look at what lies on the surface of this narrative.

Here, to begin with, is a great result achieved with small resources. Five thousand and more are abundantly fed with five loaves and two fishes.

Do we ever see anything like this happening in the natural world? We do see under the power of life wonderful multiplications of natural organism. A single kernel of corn may multiply, in one summer, to hundreds of kernels; and there are many orders of plants and animals, which, if their geometrical increase were not checked, would soon cover the surface of the earth. Life is, in many of its tribes, marvelously prolific.

Yet this natural increase all goes on under the law of conservation of energy. There are marvelous transformations of the materials existing upon the surface of the earth, but there is no real addition to them. The kernel of corn becomes a great stalk, almost a tree, with its green bannerets, and its tufted plumes, and its branching ears; but for all that it has thus become, it is indebted to the earth and the air; every particle of the matter which is thus organized has been drawn out of the soil or the atmosphere; by as much as its life has been enriched, by so much are the earth and the air the poorer. Even in the kingdoms of life, what one existence has another has not—what one gains some other must lose.

Now it does not appear, in this narrative, that the multiplication of these loaves and fishes involved any diminution or loss of force or substance to anybody. There was a marvelous increase, at no cost to those by whom it was ministered. Nay, they seem to have been richer at the end of their ministry than they were at the beginning. Each of the twelve went out with a few fragments in his hand, kept giving them away, took nothing from any one, and came back with a basket full. This is a process for which the natural order, so far as we now understand it, furnishes no analogy.

Yet we constantly see, in the spiritual world, something very like this taking place. We see the smallest and feeblest resources multiplied indefinitely, with no apparent diminution anywhere to balance this increase; rather with evident gains to all by whom the increase comes.





Less than a hundred years ago a few young men were wont to meet behind a haystack, in the edge of a grove near Williams College, to pray that God would provide a way by which they might go forth as missionaries to the heathen. The new impulse which had taken possession of their souls sprang from the discovery of the truth that God loves all men, and is ready to save all men. Up to this time the general belief had been that Christ died for the elect only; that the heathen nations were not included in the plan of salvation. Now there were those who ventured to assert that the atonement was not limited; that Christ had tasted death for every man; that whosoever would might come and take of the water of life freely. This was considered before that day a great and dangerous heresy; those who taught it were believed to be the enemies of true religion; harder words were said about them than are said about any of the new theologians of this day. Nevertheless, they found in this heresy a great motive to work for the building of the kingdom; since the gospel was for all men they desired that all men should hear the gospel, those who were far off as well as those who were near. . . . It was only a year or two later, as the result of this little prayer meeting, that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed; and out of that germ has sprung the whole great foreign missionary work in America, with its thousands of missionaries, and its hundreds of thousands of converts, and its millions of dollars annually contributed for the prosecution of the work, with colleges and high schools and schools for girls in every part of the world; with influences at work that are leavening many nations. The beginnings were small and feeble, but the issues are large and fair. Out of resources that seemed insignificant something very grand has been evolved.

Go a little further back in history. In an old manor house, in Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, England, a small company of religious outcasts were wont to meet in the early hours of the morning, to worship God according to the simple rites which they preferred. Not many of the wise or the mighty were among them; ecclesiastically they were pariahs; the great English Church had made the exercise of their religion a crime, and was hunting them, like venomous reptiles, out of her borders. Nobody who saw that little company hiding before day in the Scrooby manor house, could have supposed that anything important was likely to arise from such a meeting; yet that was the Pilgrim Church, which landed a few years later in Leyden, Holland, and a little later still, from the Mayflower, on the sands of Plymouth harbor, in Massachusetts Bay, and planted a germ which has developed into a nation of seventy millions. Whatever other beginnings may have been made upon the soil, the ideas and the forces which organized that Plymouth

Colony have been the constructive elements of this nation. They were all represented there in that little company at Scrooby manor.

Travel a little further back across the centuries, and look upon that small congregation of very common people assembled in an upper chamber in Jerusalem and waiting for the promise of the Father. There were about six score of them; and they, too, were despised and rejected of men; none of the magnates of their nation had anything but contempt and curses for them; but this was the germ of Christendom; it was by the testimony of these men, by the manifestation of the life that was in them, that the Christian church was formed, that the influences were set in motion by which one third of the population of the earth has been Christianized.

Such wonderful results as these we are often able to trace in the action of the spiritual forces. Nor am I able to find in these phenomena anything which indicates that they come under the law of the conservation of energy. I do not discover that spiritual effects of this nature, though they are stupendous in their range and reach, are produced by reducing life at other points, I do not see that the world is impoverished anywhere, in order that it may be enriched by this multiplication of spiritual energies.

In truth, the law of the spiritual life is unlike the law of the physical life in this, that it increases by what it imparts and lives by what it loses. We may say what we will about this story of the feeding of the five thousand; but we know that in all the *superior* realms of our life something exactly like what is said to have taken place here on the shores of Gennesaret is all the while going on. We go out very often, with a few fragments, and by dint of giving these away diligently, we come back with baskets full. We have but little ourselves, and are very conscious of the smallness of our resources; but the more we give to others the more we have left.

Take a man like Mark Hopkins, like Theodore Woolsey, like Noah Porter, like James Fairchild; the mind of any of them, in its youthful periods, is crude and comparatively barren. Good scholars they are; they master their books; certain amounts of knowledge they have accumulated, but how deficient are they in the larger quality of wisdom. The early essays of Dr. Hopkins are correct in form, and show a certain mental alertness, but how little there is in them compared with what we find in the later writings. But this man begins, in his youth, freely to impart what he has freely received. He has not much to bestow, at the beginning, but such as he has he gives. Year after year he pours out the treasures of his accumulated wisdom into the minds of his pupils. To one class after another, to one generation after another, he seeks to communicate the best he has—all he has; he keeps back nothing; to share with these young minds his choicest gains. Years and hundreds of them glean from his lips the fruit of ripe thought,





of large experience; their ideas are cleared, their mental processes are rectified, their judgment is steadied, their imagination is chastened, their whole intellectual and moral life is invigorated and enriched by what he has given to them. And how is it with him? Is he impoverished by this lavish bestowal? No; every year his knowledge widens, his wisdom deepens, his insight clarifies, his temper becomes more genial, his sympathies more comprehensive. He has given his best life to thousands, but not one of the thousands of receivers has gained one-hundredth part of what he, the giver, has won. Does any man believe that a closeted recluse, absorbing and hoarding knowledge, could ever have become so large-minded, so large-hearted, so full of benignant wisdom? No, it is the very act of giving by which this mind has been enriched. It is not merely the exercise of the mental faculties, it is their benevolent exercise, it is the use of these powers under the spiritual law, that has wrought this enlargement of the nature.

Take a woman like Dorothy Pattison,—Sister Dora,—in her youth rather wilful, passionate, inconsiderate of others, and watch the effect upon her nature of a life of service. How steadily it broadens and ripens under this regimen. She is giving herself more and more unreservedly to the care of the needy and the suffering; she is never thinking about self-culture; she covets only those gifts that can make her life more useful to those about her; delicate lady that she is, her days are spent amid the most loathsome and repulsive scenes; all that she studies to do is to give comfort and relief and happiness to others. And how is her character affected by this discipline? Those who estimate life by the common worldly standards should expect to find her growing hard and sour and shrewish; they should look to see her small stock of amiability and tenderness utterly exhausted by this daily expenditure; surely one who has so little and spends so much must be impoverished. But this is not the law of the spiritual realm. The more she gives of sympathy and tenderness the more she has to give; the sources of her affection are deepened; new fountains of gracious compassion are unsealed; the rather hard-natured girl becomes the good angel of the suffering poor of a whole city. There, today, in the market place of Walsall her statute stands, the tribute of the people who loved her. Look into that calm, strong, radiant face. You do not need to be assured that it is a good likeness; the soul is shining through it. It is the glory of womanhood. And it was won, as that glory is always won, not by grasping at personal good or gain; not by seeking recognition and social distinction, but by giving—freely, constantly, lavishly—service, ministry, love, life, to all who were in need.

There is no question about this law. The facts that I am reciting to you can be multiplied in the observation of every thoughtful person. You know by abundant evidence, that the goods of the spiritual realm are increased by

be brought in to modify what men call the natural principle. Let the employer earnestly seek to give his men as much as he can for their service, and the employees honestly endeavor to give their master as much as they can for the wages he pays them; is not the prosperity of that industrial group likely to increase? Would not the product of such an industry be considerably enlarged, and would there not be more to divide between employer and employed? I am not saying anything about methods, now; I am only speaking of the spirit, the motive, that might control the relations of this industrial group. I am supposing, also, that this spirit is manifested on both sides of this relation. If the employer were utterly selfish, and the employees only were inspired with goodwill, the relation could not be prosperous; neither would it work when the employer was the only Good Samaritan and the employees were mostly shirks and sponges; but when each party heartily wishes to do all he can for the welfare of the other, there is, I say, a better promise of prosperity for both, than where each is determined to advance its own interests at the expense of the other. Can any sane man doubt this? . . . Does not the principle which we find in the story we are studying—the principle that our possessions are increased by sharing them—come pretty near fulfillment even here within the material realm? . . .

But whatever the effect of the observance of this law might be upon our material prosperity, whether or not it would enlarge our gains and our revenues, one effect it would certainly have; it would greatly enhance the value of what we do possess. The real question is not, after all, how much we have, but how much good it does us; how much real satisfaction we get out of it. There are millionaires, not a few, who get less enjoyment and less real benefit out of their vast incomes, than many a day laborer gets out of his wages, than many a hard-working clerk gets out of his small salary. The man whose character, whose manhood, whose essential happiness is most increased by his possessions, is the man whose portion is most to be coveted.

Now here is a fact that I know by experience, and so do many of you—a fact that is just as distinctly a part of our consciousness as is our personal identity. We know that when we divide our portion, for love's sake, with our brother, what we have left is worth more to us than the whole would have been if we had kept it all for ourselves. We know that the real value of our possessions is enhanced by sharing them with those that are in need. We know that it is only when the love that prompts us to do good and to communicate is in our hearts that we derive the highest enjoyment from our earthly possessions. We have gone out, more than once, with our fragments in our hands; we have distributed more freely, perhaps, than we thought we did, and we have come back, if not with baskets full, at least with hearts full, which is the main thing, after all.





Here, then, are our everyday miracles. Whatever may have happened to those loaves and fishes, we know, that with the real bread of life, which is love, this very thing happens every day. We divide our portion with those less fortunate than ourselves, and what is left is more because of what was given; the part is larger than the whole. We give daily, all that is most truly ourselves,—give freely of thought and hope and love—and find our treasure daily growing; the more we bestow the larger is our store. How fast this world might grow rich if all men would stop hoarding their best, and would begin to give it away, with unstinted bounty to all who were able to receive it.

combined minute detail and remarkable reserve in describing the marvelous and to him quite inexplicable (on the human level) works of the spirit that had constituted the frontier revival in 1734–35. He saw it, as he almost had to, as "an Extraordinary dispensation of Providence." He was grateful, too, that it was accompanied not by censorious behavior and emotional excesses, but by many signs of charity, moral reform, and a deep renewal of faith in those doctrines "that we account orthodox." A major aspect of the *Narrative's* influence stemmed from its masterly portrayal of the true Christian convert. Reading it today, we can easily understand how John Wesley, pondering its pages as he walked from London to Oxford, should have exclaimed, "Surely this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes."

Many of the excesses for whose absence Edwards was grateful in 1737 did appear in the new outburst of revival fervor that accompanied Whitefield's visit in 1740. This fact gives special importance to Edwards's discourse delivered at Yale's commencement exercises in 1741: *The Distinguishing Marks of the Spirit of God, Applied to that uncommon Operation that has lately appeared on the Minds of many of the People in New-England: With a Particular Consideration of the extra-ordinary Circumstances with which this Work is attended* (1741). The heart of the matter is suggested in the subtitle, for Edwards defended those manifestations that were found so objectionable by most critics of the revivals (including the authorities at Yale who were still smarting from Whitefield's castigation of their coldness). After a discerning exegesis of his text (1 John 4) and a careful survey of the revival, he concluded that "we must throw by our Bibles, and give up revealed religion; if this be not in general the work of God." Yet he was not undiscriminating in his approval, and he granted both that persons might be saved without apparent bodily effects and that some of the physical manifestations might be demonic. Two years later, when Edwards reworked this subject into a full-length book, the opposition was stronger, and he altered his defense accordingly. In *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New-England* (1742), he spoke not to a local situation but to all the world.

Charles Chauncy of Boston was not one to leave Edwards unchallenged, however. In his *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England* (1743), Chauncy threw off his earlier reserve and in point by point refutation denounced the revival as a resurgence of the antinomian and enthusiastic heresies that had plagued the early Puritans. He provided at the same time a valuable mine of information on the screechings and agitations of persons overcome by powerful emotions, and poured special venom



on Whitefield, Tennent, and Davenport for their role in arousing these horrendous passions. In conclusion, he laid bare the chief intellectual issue posed by the revival: "There is the Religion of the Understanding and Judgment, and Will, as well as of the Affections; and if little Account is made of the former, while great Stress is laid upon the latter, it can't be but People should run into Disorders."

Chauncy set the stage for the first of Edwards's great theological works, his "ultimate philosophy of the revival": *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746). This book was ignored by Chauncy, who had written off Edwards as a "visionary enthusiast, and not to be minded in anything he says." It became, nevertheless, one of his most widely read treatises, and it remains one of America's profoundest inquiries into the nature of religious experience. It is a classic evangelical answer to the question, *What is true religion?* Edwards's thesis, directly stated, is that "true religion, in great part, consists in holy affections." The "affections" to Edwards are not simply the emotions, passions, or even the "will," but more fundamentally, that which moves a person from neutrality or mere assent and inclines his heart to possess or reject something. Love, therefore, "is not only one of the affections but it is the first and chief . . . and the fountain of all the affections."

Edwards's purpose in the book is to delineate the twelve signs of genuine piety and the rightly inclined heart. Under the First Sign he clarifies the basic point that holy affections are spiritual, supernatural, and divine. He even quotes John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist: "A true celestial warmth . . . is of an immortal nature; and being once seated vitally in the souls of man, it will regulate and order all the motions in a due manner; as the natural head, radicated [rooted] in the hearts of living creatures, hath the dominion and the economy of the whole body under it. . . . It is a new nature, informing the souls of men." This point is further developed under the Fourth Sign: "Holy affections are not heat without light; but evermore arise from some information of the understanding, some spiritual instruction that the mind receives, some light or actual knowledge." The argument culminates in the Twelfth and "principal" sign: "Gracious and holy affections have their exercise and fruit in Christian practice." In describing this practice, moreover, Edwards closes off the possibility of any kind of antinomianism by presenting it as that "which is universally conformed to, and directed by Christian rules," and persisted in to the end. On the other hand, he also closes the door to utilitarian legalism by insisting that "the first objective ground of gracious affections, is the transcendently excellent and amiable nature of divine things, as they are in themselves, and not any conceived relation they bear to self, or self-interest. . . . What makes men partial in

religion is, that they seek themselves, and not God, in their religion."[5] Here was a defense of holy affections that could arouse true religion and at the same time present a stern rebuke to arrogant and censorious enthusiasts.

By the time the *Religious Affections* appeared, affairs in Northampton were moving toward a crisis. For one thing, Edwards was ill at ease under the lax standards for church membership sanctioned by the Half-Way Covenant, and even more disturbed by Stoddardean views on admission to the Lord's Supper—and he said so. He also ran into trouble with some respectable families when he proposed to discipline certain young people who had been circulating "bad books" (a manual for midwives). This antagonism was fully manifested in 1748, when Edwards's request to deliver a series of sermons on the qualifications for admission to communion was met not only by a firm refusal, but by a demand that he tender his resignation as minister. The tangled skein of events which culminated in a council that advised his dismission cannot be traced here, but on 1 July 1750, he preached his farewell sermon, an utterance whose quiet compacted strength still proclaims the man's greatness in a tragic hour. After dedicating twenty-three years of his life to Northampton, making it for a time a famous center of orthodoxy and revived spirituality, he was set adrift with a wife and seven dependent children.

Edwards was lifted from the anxieties of his expulsion by a call to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, a frontier town where the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (the so-called New England Company) and the Bay Colony's Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs maintained a mission. Though hardly a promotion, the new post was not an exile. During the first years he was diverted by the necessity to foil the plans of those who at this early date were building the great American tradition of Indian exploitation. Although he also had to carry on a double ministry, to the whites and to the Indians, he now was free from many time-stealing distractions, and his most brilliant and understanding disciple, Samuel Hopkins, was in nearby Great Barrington. The Stockbridge years actually became the most productive in his life.

His first task was to conclude his elaborate answer to the "communion question" which had been brought to such a disheartening issue in Northampton. On this matter he had stated his case massively in 1749 with *A Humble Inquiry into the Rules of the Word of God, Concerning the Qualifications Requisite to a Complete Standing and Full Communion in the Visible Church.* This work, to put it mildly, left Northampton un-

5. Jonathan Edwards, *Religious Affections*, ed. John E. Smith (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1959), pp. 95, 188, 219, 266, 383, 393–94.



convinced; more troubling still, his cousin Solomon Williams of Lebanon, Connecticut, had ventured a full-scale refutation which now required and received a rejoinder: *Misrepresentations Corrected, and Truth Vindicated* (1752). Edwards's writings on this entire controversy were once very influential, but they have been slighted by scholars. Consistent with the stand taken in the *Religious Affections,* they are not extreme. The membership pledge he asked for was no more rigorous than the Anglican confirmation vow. Yet he did make a decisive break with the accepted principles of Stoddardeanism, and he cast a shadow upon the Half-Way Covenant. He accepted what his Congregational colleagues were unwilling to admit—that the Holy Commonwealth and its "national covenant" were gone, utterly dead. The church was living in a new age; it stood in a new relation to the world. He rejected the older view that New England's total corporate errand was part of God's design. His grandfather's easy identification of town meeting and church meeting was found wanting. The church, he was convinced, must be gathered out of the world. On this general point Edwards's influence, exerted through his books, sermons, and example, was decisive; and he has been called in truth "the father of modern Congregationalism."[6] No works document this aspect of Edwards better than those on the problem of church communion.

When Edwards turned from ecclesiastical controversy to an immemorial philosophical problem, the result was his most celebrated treatise: *A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the modern prevailing Notions of that Freedom of Will, Which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, Vertue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame* (1754). The second installment of the vast revision of current thought on the moral and religious life which Edwards began in the *Religious Affections,* this was one of the literary sensations of eighteenth-century America, and it has continued to be the most seriously analyzed of all of his works. What metaphysical situation could be more exciting: the chief critic of Arminianism forging a weapon out of the very Lockean materials which "enlightened" theologians and deists had claimed as their own. In a word, Edwards insisted that this was an orderly universe; in Ramsey's nice phrase, "either contingency and the liberty of self-determination must be run out of this world, or God will be shut out." Said Edwards:

6. Alexander V. G. Allen, *Jonathan Edwards* (Boston, 1894), p. 270. Allen, of course, was writing in 1889, before liberal theology had transformed the denomination. We perhaps should now say "middle Congregationalism," which was primarily a nineteenth-century phenomenon, though its origins lay in the Great Awakening. After the Civil War it was progressively altered by influences best represented by Horace Bushnell.

tematic theology. By sustained effort and creative thought, the liberals made a new place for religion in the modern world.[14] Because they remained in touch with the historical and romantic movements, they gave religious expression to the dynamic aspects of life and stood off the moral, social, and philosophical oversimplifications of scientific positivism. By raising problems for dogmatism, on the other hand, the liberals greatly enlivened the ecumenical movement.

It would be hard to deny that in doing these many things they sometimes stripped away the Church's spiritual armor. Often incredibly naïve in their evaluations of man, society, and the national destiny, they did little to prepare Americans for the brutal assaults of the twentieth century. In this respect they laid the groundwork for tragedy and disillusion. One can accept H. Richard Niebuhr's harsh summary of their outlook: "A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a Cross."[15] In the face of many difficulties, however, they maintained standards of scholarly rigor, intellectual honesty, and moral responsibility that their successors often failed to appreciate. In the later twentieth century renewed demands that Christians be "honest to God" would enhance their reputation. To be sure, they may have been overly optimistic about human nature, but they were not fatuous; and those who entered the Social Gospel movement were effective critics of the American social order.

14. These frequent references to the "modern" are not casually made (see Arthur C. McGiffert, *The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas*. Richard Ellmann and Charles Feidelson in *The Modern Tradition: Backgrounds of Modern Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965) pursue the question provocatively, yet affirm that "the modern awaits definition."

15. *The Kingdom of God in America*, p. 193.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. A Religious History of the American People. New Haven, Yale U. Press, 1972

Mi. Millenialism
P. Perfectionism
A. Apocalypticism
R. Revivalism
Ab. Abolitionism
Pop. Populism

Lib - Liberalism
PE - Protestant (Puritan Ethic)
U - Utopianism
MD Manifest Destiny
Commu - Communitarian

Characterization of K.

# 47

# THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

When the Social Gospel movement began and when it came to a close are much disputed questions. But nearly everyone agrees that it was more fully represented by Walter Rauschenbusch than by anyone else, and that it gained classic utterance in 1907 with the publication of his *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. Let us read, then, the final page of this book, where the "lonely prophet" discloses his vision of God's coming Kingdom:

> If the twentieth century could do for us in the control of social forces what the nineteenth did for us in the control of natural forces, our grandchildren would live in a society that would be justified in regarding our present social life as semi-barbarous. Since the Reformation began to free the mind and to direct the force of religion toward morality, there has been a perceptible increase of speed. Humanity is gaining in elasticity and capacity for change, and every gain in general intelligence, in organizing capacity, in physical and moral soundness, and especially in responsiveness to ideal motives, again increases the ability to advance without disastrous reactions. The swiftness of evolution in our own country proves the immense latent perfectibility in human nature.
>
> Last May a miracle happened. At the beginning of the week the fruit trees bore brown and greenish buds. At the end of the week they were robed in bridal garments of blossom. But for weeks and months the sap had been rising and distending the cells and maturing the tissues which were half ready in the fall before. The swift unfolding was the culmination of a long process. Perhaps these nineteen centuries of Christian influence have been a long preliminary stage of growth, and now the flower and fruit are almost here. If at this juncture we can rally sufficient religious faith and moral strength to snap the bonds of evil

Perfectionism

and turn the present unparalleled economic and intellectual resources of humanity to the harmonious development of a true social life, the generations yet unborn will mark this as that great day of the Lord for which the ages waited, and count us blessed for sharing in the apostolate that proclaimed it.[1]

This passage deserves close analysis not because it is extraordinarily difficult, but because beneath its blossoming rhetoric are three assertions which reveal the essence of the Social Gospel, a movement which has been widely hailed at home and abroad as the most distinctive contribution of the American churches to world Christianity.

The primary point of Rauschenbusch's conclusion is underlined by his central figure of speech: "now the flower and the fruit is almost here." The "great day of the Lord for which the ages waited" is at hand. The Social Gospel was a form of millennial thought; yet it was also an authentic "gospel" bringing good tidings of great joy to the people. Rauschenbusch's grounds for joy constitute the second point: "the immense latent perfectibility in human nature" has been revealed by the "swift evolution" of our country and by the progress that has been accelerating in Christendom ever since the Reformation. His third point is the moral demand, driven home by two conditional sentences that bracket the passage: men must gain control of social forces; the "bonds of evil" must be broken; and finally—and here is the insistence that makes the Social Gospel a movement in the churches—religious faith and moral strength must be directed toward these last great social tasks.

The Social Gospel must be understood as a transitory phase of Christian social thought. It was a submovement within religious liberalism, with a certain view of man and history governing its rationale. It reflected and depended upon the singular spirit of confidence and hope that prevailed for only a few decades before the Great War and the Great Depression shattered the mood. Historians can record its rise and describe its aftermath, but efforts to see its persistence or revival during the 1930s involve serious distortions. Similarly, a single set of social problems stirred its passions: the urban dislocations occasioned by America's unregulated industrial expansion. The Gilded Age was a prerequisite. In this context its moral message consisted almost exclusively in applications, mild or severe, of the idea that the doctrine of laissez faire required Christian modifications. The Iron Law of Wages so dear to classical economics must be qualified by the Great Commandment. Between employer and employee brutality and conflict must yield to compassion and mutual respect. Even in this light, however, the historical problem of dealing with the Social Gospel remains very great, as four other important considerations will make clear.

1. Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1907), p. 422.



### SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

In one sense, the Social Gospel was anything but new. The major element in America's moral and religious heritage was Puritanism, with its powerfully rooted convictions that the shaping and, if need be, the remaking of society was the Church's concern. American Protestantism was born in Holy Commonwealths and Holy Experiments. The Second Great Awakening and the great "theocratic" campaigns of the Evangelical United Front had intensified this tendency. Antebellum revivalism, in fact, was pervaded by concern for social reform and, beyond that, by the hope for a sanctified citizenry that would make this republic a model for the whole world. Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney were so fascinated by this vision that they almost forgot their quarrels about the "new measures" in revivalism. Unitarians and Transcendentalists also caught the contagious reforming spirit. During most of the nineteenth century, moreover, the professor of Christian morals and political economy became a stock figure in American colleges and universities. Until a very late date these men inculcated the old medieval principle that social, economic, and political theory is properly a branch of Christian ethics, a principle that the Social Gospel was to reaffirm.

The antislavery movement came to life within this matrix and gradually ate away the prevailing apathy and hostility in the churches. By 1860 Lincoln had at his back a crusading evangelical Protestantism so fervent that at times he feared it would trample him with the vintage that the grapes of wrath had stored. Abolitionism, with its hymns, slogans, and prophetic zeal, was a decisive prelude to the Social Gospel. Both were characterized by a readiness to harness the churches and a tendency to subordinate every other interest of the church to the one great national policy question of the day. The line from Theodore Dwight Weld and Elijah Lovejoy to Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch must never be ignored.

A second consideration is that by no means all opponents of the Social Gospel believed that public affairs and social questions ought to be put aside when a minister entered the pulpit. Even a social conservative like Henry Ward Beecher made freedom to speak out on social issues a condition of his accepting the call to Plymouth Church in 1847. During worship services in his church, Beecher not only "auctioned" slaves and raised money for Bleeding

Kansas, but with the Bible before him, citing appropriate texts, he preached and published sermons on the whole gamut of social questions, including the problems of poverty and labor relations that worried the Social Gospelers. Although he took the opposing stand on nearly all of the issues, the social orientation which Beecher established at Plymouth Church enabled his successor, Lyman Abbott, to defend quite different economic views from the pulpit and to become the virtual chaplain of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressivism. This change in social outlook, moreover, did not involve Abbott in any basic departure from Beecher's form of the "New Theology." In other words, liberal preachers like Beecher (and at reduced scale they were legion) belong in the prologue to Social Gospel history despite their ideological opposition to men like Rauschenbusch.

Pop

Another phase of social protest that flourished during the Social Gospel's heyday was Populism and the great agrarian crusade. It, too, had a religious orientation. Its dominant leader was the Great Commoner, William Jennings Bryan, who was also the Joshua of American Fundamentalism. "Would you crucify labor on a cross of gold," he had shouted—at a time when Pastor Rauschenbusch was equally agonized by society's crucifixion of the poor. Yet historians never include Populism in the Social Gospel movement, for it lacked both an urban orientation and the presuppositions of theological liberalism. The same criteria apply to the varied activities of the Salvation Army and, somewhat later, to the Pentecostal rescue missions and similar institutions which brought the church into living contact with city slums.

Cross of Gold Speech.

Liberalism and the Social Gospel movement must not be identified, however, because liberalism often encouraged complacency and self-satisfaction. It throve mightily among the most socially conservative classes of people. The Social Gospel, on the other hand, was always a prophetic and unpopular impulse. Although it became a large and powerful minority in the early 1920s, even then its intradenominational battles were often bitter, and many were lost. Social Gospelers were usually theological liberals; but the statement cannot be reversed.

Liberalism is NOT the Social Gospel

A third consideration involves the question of the Social Gospel's originality. Is it the most distinctive American contribution to world Christianity as is so often alleged? The facts are confusing. Although its Puritanic concern for the commonwealth is, as we have seen, embedded in an indigenous tradition which is unique, almost every major new element of the Social Gospel betrayed enormous indebtedness to two major foreign impulses. From Britain came a legacy of inspiration drawn from the Christian socialism of Charles Kingsley, Frederick D. Maurice, John Ruskin, William H. Fremantle, and the architects of Fabian socialism. From Germany came nearly its entire biblical and theological grounding, as well as the historical view of

Fabian Socialism

Abol Just.

British & German antecedents



economic theory by which the social statics of *Manchesterismus* was to be overthrown. The key figure for the Social Gospelers as for so many other liberal theologians was Albrecht Ritschl (1822–89), whose Jesus-centered, antimetaphysical theology of the Kingdom of God provided the movement's chief integrative idea. Adolph von Harnack, the most famous of Ritschlians, formulated many of these views even more appealingly, especially through his disparagement of vain scholastic speculation and the exceedingly simplified ethical principles which he defined as the "essence of Christianity." And after Ritschl had come the rising Social Christian movement in Germany and Switzerland, not to mention the advanced social legislation of the new German Empire.[2] British and German developments, in short, provided a vital prologue to American Social Gospel history.

Ritschl

The final preliminary consideration calls attention to the opposition which the Social Gospel faced—the villain in the plot, as it were. What the Social Gospel had to combat was above all the American's basic contempt for poverty, the "hard shell of sanctified realism" fostered by the Puritan ethic in both its pious and secularized forms. This attitude had nothing to do with the immemorial assumption that a certain amount of poverty was inevitable, or with the notion of a Great Chain of Being which made the lowly an essential element in the Creation. The Puritan doctrine of vocation avoided a static interpretation of the dominical words, "You have the poor always with you" (Matt. 26:10). Because God called nobody unto mendicancy and inactivity, those who begged and did not work either were being or ought to be punished for their sins. Even in the complex urban surroundings of New York in the 1870s Henry Ward Beecher was willing to make this proposition axiomatic:

Puritan Ethic

> Looking comprehensively through city and town and village and country, the general truth will stand, that no man in this land suffers from poverty unless it be more than his fault—unless it be his *sin*. . . . There is enough and to spare thrice over; and if men have not enough, it is owing to the want of provident care, and foresight, and industry, and frugality, and wise saving. This is the general truth.[3]

H.W. Beecher

William Lawrence, a Massachusetts Episcopal bishop, reduced this "gospel of wealth" to two "positive principles": "that man, when he is strong, conquers Nature," and that "in the long run, it is only to the man of morality

2. Karl Marx is a special case. His impact on German social and sociological thought extended far beyond socialist organizations. But in the Social Gospel movement, as in American thought generally, Marxian influence was slight and heavily filtered, even among the Christian socialists on the Social Gospel's left wing (see James Dombrowski, *The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America*).

3. Quoted by Sidney E. Mead, *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America*, p. 160.

that wealth comes." Beyond this, of course, lay "the privilege of grateful service" and Christ's "precepts on the stewardship of wealth." [4] One could fill book after book with similar hard-shell quotations, from orthodox, liberal, and secular spokesmen alike, all of them anxious, it would seem, lest someone accuse them of being "soft on poverty." Yet only when this attitude was called in question could American Protestantism produce the Social Gospel.

Two new circumstances served to intensify the American's prevailing hardness of heart. Simplest of these was the powerful evidence that Andrew Carnegie's faith in America's "Triumphant Democracy" had its warrants: "The old nations of the earth creep at a snail's pace; the Republic thunders past with the rush of the express." Carnegie's statistics were impressive; and his own rags-to-riches life story was more convincing than anything Horatio Alger was writing.

But the common view of poverty and wealth was given even greater plausibility during the Age of Enterprise by the doctrine of evolution through struggle and natural selection of the fittest. Darwin learned from Malthus, and the Malthusians, in turn, learned from Darwin. Social Darwinism thus gave the stock ideas of the Puritan ethic a new potency and the added dignity of "scientific" support. Herbert Spencer with enormous confidence extended Darwinian theories of development to human societies, and in the United States he won to his banner a Broad Church Episcopal minister of Morristown, New Jersey, named William Graham Sumner. In 1872 Sumner abandoned the pulpit for an academic podium at Yale, where he exchanged liberal Christianity for conservative Spencerianism, first as a professor of political economy, then increasingly as a sociologist. In these roles Sumner used his evolutionary determinism to bludgeon soft-hearted reformism and governmental intervention of all types (plutocratic as well as democratic). What little hope he saw for mankind he vested in a stern work-oriented moralism and the evolutionary process. Like a Henry Ward Beecher minus every shred of religiosity and teleology, Sumner made the task of the Social Gospel more difficult.

### PREPARATORY DEVELOPMENTS

During the years after the Civil War, many Christian spokesmen in a variety of places began for the first time in American history to express serious doubts that the organized selfishness of a free enterprise economy would automatically solve the country's problems. Less theoretically, they openly

4. "The Relation of Wealth to Morals," in *Democracy and the Gospel of Wealth*, ed. Gail Kennedy (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1949), pp. 68–76.



lamented the fact that the laboring man was rarely understood and almost never defended in the Christian churches. Andover Seminary's famous journal, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, opened its pages to social commentary in 1866, and in 1868 it printed a series of articles entitled "The Natural Theology of Social Science," in which Professor John Bascom of Williams College criticized the conservatism of the Protestant pulpit. Bascom had no more sympathy for the poor and improvident than his contemporaries, but he did question the competitive principle, and advocated giving the workingman a "pecuniary interest" in the enterprises for which they worked. Later, after serving as president of the University of Wisconsin, he moved in his *Sociology* (1887) toward the more forthright "Kingdom theology" of the Social Gospel. Among Bascom's students was Washington Gladden, who in later years would earn his title as "the father of the American Social Gospel."

Two other pioneers of the movement merit brief mention, the first, a sensational preacher, widely known at the time but soon forgotten; the second, a typical champion of the workingman. Joseph Cook was an Andover graduate and an Orthodox Congregational minister who gained fame between 1875 and 1895 for his strenuous efforts to defend the Christian religion against biblical critics, evolutionists, and free thinkers. Cook was also a politically conservative enemy of vice and corruption of the fairly standard type. Less typically, he was concerned with working conditions, low wages, and child labor. Because his Monday Lectures in Boston attracted some of the largest audiences in that city's history, the Social Gospel's best historian can say of him that he "probably did more than any other individual or group in bringing the social implications of Christianity to the attention of Americans." [5]

The Reverend Jesse Henry Jones was a Boston Congregationalist of quite another order. As founder of the Christian Labor Union (1872–78) and editor first of *Equity: A Journal of Christian Labor Reform* (1874) and then of the equally short-lived *Labor-Balance* (1877), he defended a labor theory of value, advocated socialism, and made strident attacks on Henry Ward Beecher's truce between God and Mammon. Yet Jones was not simply a social radical with an ordination somewhere in his past. In his book *The Kingdom of Heaven* (1871) he envisioned a perfect Christian society of separate socialistic communities. As Professor May remarks, he was of a type that is "common in the unfrequented byways of American social science. Religious radicals, spinning plans for a perfect society out of their reading of the Gospels and prophets or out of their own troubled consciences." [6] The

5. Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism*, p. 39.

6. Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*, p. 79.

views of such men had little to do with American realities, but their spirit was an important recurring ingredient of the Social Gospel, especially valuable as a reminder that the country's avid interest in utopian socialism during the antebellum period had some long-range effects.

### *Other Social Prophets*

In addition to these anticipations of the later Social Gospel, a tradition of social criticism and "muckraking" opposed itself to the practices of the "robber barons" and the degeneration of political ethics that set in with the Grant administration. Civil service reform, government regulation of business, and antitrust legislation were its chief aims, and its accomplishments included the Civil Service Act, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the regulatory legislation of the Progressive Era. With these later achievements the Social Gospel movement would have an especially close relationship. Contemporary with this eminently respectable reform tradition, however, were three more distinctive prophets who are related in special ways to social Christianity: Edward Bellamy, Henry George, and Lester Ward.

Bellamy (1850–98) was the son of a Baptist minister who during his short life moved from his father's faith to a "religion of solidarity" that took its inspiration in about equal measure from Christian liberalism, Transcendentalism, and Auguste Comte's "Religion of Humanity." "Living in the narrow grotto of individual life" he was "greedy of infinity." He yearned for a social order that would transcend the idea of "personality as an ultimate fact." Growing up in the industrial town of Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, Bellamy became intensely aware of the "barbarity" and "monstrous cruelty" which were parts of the town's daily life. As a newspaper writer he vented some of his views, and as a novelist still others; but his reputation rests almost entirely on his novel, *Looking Backward* (1888), in which he portrays the socialistic perfection of the nation in A.D. 2000. It soon became a best seller, and Nationalist Clubs began to be organized to bring about Bellamy's imagined world just as the Social Gospel was gaining self-consciousness as a movement. Both Bellamy's social organicism and his futuristic orientation became indispensable elements in the social optimism of the age.

Henry George (1839–97) "exploded into fame" nine years before Bellamy with his *Progress and Poverty* (1879)—so searing in its indictment of the American social system, so fervent in the millennial hope that it offered, that in America its author became the emotional equivalent of a Karl Marx. His panacea was the single tax, and around this program grew up a tight phalanx of orthodox followers, many of them from organized labor. Far more contagious and far broader in its influence was his root-and-branch critique of

Root + Branch theology



the American economic system and the theory that underlay it, as well as his enraptured vision of a perfected America. His religious passion and his tender concern for every human being put George in the Social Gospel tradition. In 1886, when he ran for mayor in New York with both the Roman Catholic Father Edward McGlynn and Walter Rauschenbusch supporting him, he revealed his true force in American life as an awakener of the slumbering Christian social conscience. Although he died suddenly during his second New York mayoralty campaign, the hundred thousand mourners who filed past his bier paid homage to the powerful way in which he had taken economic theory out of obscure treatises and academic halls, making it a weapon in the social and political conflicts of a nation in crisis.

Lester Ward (1841–1913), unlike Bellamy and George, esteemed himself a scientist rather than a prophet or visionary. He was the first American to write a comprehensive sociological treatise, and his importance for the Social Gospel lies in the fact that in his sociology Ward challenged the reigning views of Sumner and Spencer. Though as interested as they in a cosmic scientific synthesis, and equally naturalistic in his premises, Ward distinguished human purposive action from all other natural processes, and attacked those Social Darwinians who used evolutionary theory to support the businessman's opposition to state intervention, charity, and all other "artificial" devices to preserve the "unfit" in the economic struggle for survival. For him sociology was an applied science to aid whole societies in bettering their condition. Ward was a liberal in politics; unlike George, he favored Populism and Bryan, and was "anxious to throttle the money power." He was too irreligious to affect the Social Gospel directly, but he did put on the record a formidable critique of Sumner's "biological sociology."

## THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

During the last two decades of the century the movement to awaken the social conscience of the churches moved far beyond the sporadic and uncertain forays of the 1860s and 1870s. It deepened the intellectual foundations of its work, broadened its focus, vastly increased its following, and began to make a positive impact in some theological schools, on certain major denominations, and no doubt, on the prevailing opinions of churchgoing America. Since these changes did not bring agreement in methods and aims, subdivisions of the movement took shape, some conservative, others moderate, still others frankly socialistic. Without becoming a hopelessly unreadable catalogue of names and dates, however, no brief account can touch on all of the many socially concerned Protestants who took part, or the myriad organi-

zations which perpetuated these diverse impulses, or the innumerable projects, experiments, publications, and conventions which marked the movement. The account which follows will concentrate on a few of the most outstanding and representative leaders.

In the annals of the Social Gospel Washington Gladden (1836–1918) undoubtedly deserves first mention. He was among the earliest to be awakened, and he continued to be active until World War I. His gradual progress from abstract moral protest to a specific critique of American economic institutions typifies that of the movement as a whole, near whose ideological center he consistently remained. Gladden was reared on a farm near Owego, New York, and educated at Williams when Mark Hopkins was president and John Bascom a professor. After private study with Moses Coit Taylor, he entered the Congregational ministry in 1860. He was even then a pronounced liberal in theology, and he soon became an admirer of Bushnell. Throughout his life, Gladden was a popular expositor of the New Theology, writing three widely read books, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (1891), *How Much Is Left of the Old Doctrines?* (1899), and *Present Day Theology* (1913). In all of these works he showed his indebtedness to the leading liberal theologians and scholars, but unlike most of them he saturated his liberalism with social concern. His specifically Christian leverage came more from an appeal to the Great Commandment than from a legalistic interpretation of the "social teachings" of Jesus.

Bushnell

Very early in his career Gladden became interested in the struggles of labor and capital. After several brief pastorates and a few years as a religious journalist, he began in 1875 an important seven-year ministry at Springfield, Massachusetts, an industrial city where he soon had an opportunity to express his sympathy for unemployed workers. From 1882 to 1914 he served with great effectiveness as minister of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio. Adding thirty more to the six books he had already published, and lecturing far and wide, Gladden became one of the country's most influential clergymen. During this period he also pursued his analysis of the nation's economic situation, digging deeper into labor problems and the details of taxation, and gaining experience which formed the background for his insistence that the churches do more than attack personal sin and public corruption.

Socialism

Over the years Gladden's criticism of American free enterprise became more severe. Though he never became a socialist, he did advocate public ownership of utilities and cooperative management of many industries. Among his most constructive works were *Tools and the Man* (1893) and



Gladden

*Social Salvation* (1902), both first presented as Beecher Lectures at Yale. His theology of social action, however, was very simple: he demanded that the churches concern themselves with social injustice, and that they help bring the economic aspects of American life under the laws of God's kingdom by example and by advocacy.[7] Yet this was no small matter in the Gilded Age, and Gladden is justifiably remembered as a major awakener of the American Protestant social conscience.

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Francis Greenwood Peabody (1847–1936) represented the Social Gospel cause in another vital arena, the seminary. He had been deflected from the normal career of a Boston-born, Harvard-educated, Unitarian minister by a year at the University of Halle in Germany. When he was made a professor at the Harvard Divinity School in 1880, he very soon instituted what was probably the first systematic course in "social ethics" to be taught in an American theological school. Peabody understood himself to be living in "the age of the social question," and to promote an intelligent response, he implemented a program of undergraduate and graduate instruction in the subject at Harvard. His published volumes of chapel sermons and many treatises extended his influence far beyond his own university. *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* (1900) went through many editions and was translated into three languages. Rauschenbusch considered it, along with Shailer Mathews's similar work, to be definitive on the subject.

Social Ethics

In theology Peabody drew heavily upon the tradition which Schleiermacher had inspired in Germany. His social advocacy was relatively conservative, with a strong emphasis on cooperatives, insurance, enlightened philanthropy, good planning, and a social security system on the Prussian model. In all of these areas, moreover, Peabody believed strongly in the value of factual knowledge. The Social Ethics department which he founded had an important library, introduced seminar methods, and laid the groundwork for future work in sociology at the university. Peabody also stands out as an important exception to the Social Gospel's prevailing lack of interest in Negro education and racial questions; and he is among the very few Americans of that period whose words on these matters could be read without embarrassment a half-century later. In addition, his career illustrates the two-way process by which liberal theology, historical studies, and the Social Gospel served for a time to bring Unitarianism back into the mainstream of American religious thought.

Blacks

7. Like most Social Gospel men, Gladden advocated interchurch cooperation. In *The Christian League of Connecticut* (1889) he presents a fictional scenario of churches working together to face social problems in a factory town. Many socially minded ecumenical leaders testified to its influence.

### Social Science for the Social Gospel

The Social Gospel, needless to say, did not consist solely of biblical exegesis and theological elaboration; indeed those are the two elements it most definitely lacked. It was always chiefly concerned to find out the truth about society, and on the basis of that knowledge to chart programs for ameliorating the country's social woes. To this end it drew political science, economics, and sociology to its service and, whenever possible, sought to provoke in all social scientists a regard for the ethical implications of their work. In the fertile exchange of ideas that resulted, two social scientists, Richard T. Ely and Albion W. Small, are important not only for their efforts to advance the Social Gospel as a movement in the churches, but for their contributions to the conduct of their disciplines in America.

Richard T. Ely (1854–1943) grew up in rural New York State in a strict Presbyterian environment; but in the course of his life he became an advanced liberal in theology, an Episcopalian, a strenuous critic of neoclassical economic theory, and a strong advocate of reform in America's urban-industrial system. After a college education divided evenly between Dartmouth and Columbia, Ely went to Germany from 1876 to 1880 for advanced study. He spent a year in philosophy at Halle, then went to Heidelberg for a Ph.D. in economics. As a result of this experience he became—and remained—an admiring disciple of Karl Knies, the historical economist, Johann Bluntschli, and Rudolph von Ihering, all of whom repudiated the alleged laws of classical economics and emphasized the prior importance of differing cultural contexts, historical developments, national needs, and political realities. They underlined both the fact and the desirability of human solidarity, insisting that economic theory must deal with national culture as a whole. The relativistic implications of such doctrines are obvious, but these were counterbalanced by an emphasis on the need for goals in economic, social, or legal thinking. These historical theorists stressed normative considerations even as they exposed the unexpressed ethical presuppositions of classical or absolutist theories. Throughout his life, therefore, Ely was to oppose those who took "Back to Adam Smith" as their motto. Identifying himself with "the ethical school of economists," he insisted that it aimed "to *direct* in a certain definite manner, so far as may be, the economic, social growth of mankind. Economists of this school wish to ascertain the laws of progress, and to show men how to make use of them." [8]

On returning to the United States, Ely was appalled both by the way economic theorists ignored the cultural, religious, and ethical norms of the

8. Richard T. Ely, *The Social Aspects of Christianity* (New York, 1889), p. 122.



nation, and by the widespread ignorance of alternative economic theories, Continental accomplishments in social reform, and the nature of the labor movement. During the next decade, while a professor at Johns Hopkins, he published books on each of these subjects, steeping all of them in his intense moral concern. In *Social Aspects of Christianity* (1889) he developed in more detail his understanding of the bearing of Christian ethics on social questions. With this book he became one of the most widely read of all American economists. To promote his large aims for America he led in the formation of the American Economic Association in 1885, also serving for a decade as its secretary or president. Through his participation in Episcopal social agencies and in many other conferences and commissions, as well as through his many writings, he became not only a "representative man," but an extremely influential theorist.

Albion W. Small (1854–1926) filled a very similar role as a reform-minded sociologist. He grew up in a pious New England Baptist home, attended Colby College in Maine and the Baptist Seminary in Newton, Massachusetts, and then proceeded to Germany, where at Leipzig and Berlin he became a convinced defender of the "historical school" in social thought led by Gustav Schmoller and Wilhelm Roscher. In later years he would add to this commitment a deep appreciation for the more positivistic sociological methods of Gustav Ratzenhofer and Ludwig Gumplowicz, thus becoming an important American pioneer of equilibrium theory in social relations.

After returning to America, Small became professor of political economy, then president of Colby College, gaining in the meantime his doctorate at Johns Hopkins. In 1892 he was called to the new University of Chicago to organize the sociology department. As the first person in the country to occupy a chair in this discipline, he played a major role in training the first generation of American-educated sociologists. His understanding of social science was, like Ely's, very comprehensive, involving an intense concern for its philosophic ground and its ethical implications. He believed that "the most worthy work of men is the effort to improve human conditions":

> If I am not mistaken, the most earnest seekers after God are . . . growing more and more in contact with the development of a science . . . of God's image, or the science of human welfare. . . . The ultimate value of sociology as pure science will be its use as an index and a test and a measure of what is worth doing.[9]

9. *General Sociology* (Chicago, 1905), quoted in Cynthia Eagle Russett, *The Concept of Equilibrium in American Social Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 61–62; Albion Small, *The Significance of Sociology for Ethics* (Chicago, 1902), p. 4.

For these reasons, he was consistently critical of Sumner and Spencer, but very appreciative of Lester Ward. And through his active participation in many important conferences called by Social Gospel leaders, Small was able to keep empirical questions and the need for organized sociological knowledge before their minds.

### *The Apogee of the Movement*

Josiah Strong (1847–1916) was the dynamo, the revivalist, the organizer, and altogether the most irrepressible spirit of the Social Gospel movement. Though of orthodox upbringing, he became an admirer of Bushnell's theological leadings; but more importantly, he came to regard the new industrial city as the central crisis for the nation and the church. In 1885, when Strong was a minister of the Central Congregational Church of Cincinnati, he expounded his views in what was almost certainly the most influential Social Gospel book of the nineteenth century, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis.* He then implemented his conviction that concerted interchurch action was necessary by convening an Interdenominational Congress at his church in Cincinnati, inviting many of the country's most outstanding social Christian spokesmen to attend. Future meetings and a series of urban surveys were projected. At once Strong became a national figure, and his appointment as general secretary of the almost moribund Evangelical Alliance in 1886 gave him an opportunity to maintain the momentum of these projects. In 1887, 1889, and 1893, other congresses were held, all of them large, well-publicized, and followed up by publications and local conferences. The last of them, held at the Chicago World's Fair, had an especially powerful impact.

Two major results of these efforts were a revitalization of the country's main interdenominational agency and the focusing of ecclesiastical concern on the city. The Alliance meanwhile gave Strong a platform from which to proclaim his enormous confidence in America's destiny under Protestant leadership. That his fervor reached almost jingoistic proportions is undeniable, and there were also more than intimations of Anglo-Saxon racism in his message. In these respects he was clearly a spokesman for the "Protestant Establishment." Yet he was more than merely that, for he showed untiring concern for urban evangelism and for a linking of "fact and faith" in the churches' approach to industrial questions. Surveys and statistics informed his diagnoses and his prescriptions. When his advanced social views forced him out of the Alliance in 1898, he immediately organized the League for Social Service (later to become the American Institute of Social Service),



which took social research and public education on social affairs as its primary tasks.

Strong's confidence in applied science and in guided evolution was boundless. His nationalism and his defense of imperialism have become almost infamous. Taken as a whole, however, his views were those which constituted the core program of the Social Gospel movement. In fact, without Strong's contribution, the very term "movement" would hardly be warranted. The latest and most thorough student of his work, moreover, rightfully stresses the way in which Strong's program parallels that of the political Progressives.[10] Josiah Strong, finally, almost personified the movement's culminating phase: the organization of an interdenominational agency of national scope. Certain other aspects of the movement need to precede an account of this chain of events, however.

### *Divergent Voices*

Social Christianity could by no means be kept entirely within the liberal Protestant boundaries marked out by men such as Strong or Gladden. The writings of Marx no less than the old native American tradition of utopian socialism made that unlikely. And indeed a considerable number of more radical spirits soon were heard, and a few new organizations were formed. These radicals were colorful personalities whose exploits and bold ideas frustrate the historian with space limitations, yet a few representative types may suggest the range of their accomplishments.

Among the most impressive was William Dwight Porter Bliss (1856–1926), a Congregationalist become Episcopalian, a follower of George, Bellamy, and British Christian Socialism, who in 1890 gave up his parish ministry in Boston and founded the Mission of the Carpenter, a socialist congregation which in turn became the nucleus for other organizations and activities, including a newspaper, *The Dawn.* In 1897 Bliss also published a huge and valuable *Encyclopedia of Social Reform.* More than any other prominent Christian reformer of the period, he anticipates the "secularized" urban mission of some mid-twentieth century activists. After 1906 Bliss became an active member of the Christian Socialist Fellowship as well as of the Socialist party.

The Minneapolis Congregational minister, George D. Herron (1862–1925), had an even more unusual career. Bursting on the scene in 1890 as a dynamic preacher, within three years he had won himself an endowed chair in applied

10. See Dorothea R. Muller, "The Social Philosophy of Josiah Strong: Social Christianity and American Progressivism," *Church History* 28 (1959): 183–201.

Christianity at Iowa (Grinnell) College. A social critic from the first, Herron gradually became an outspoken socialist, though of a mystical, utopian sort; and between 1896 and 1900 his views were the inspiration for an unsuccessful communitarian experiment in Georgia. Suddenly in 1901 his influence in the American churches was ended by his divorce, his marriage to the daughter of his chief patroness, and accusations of his being a "free lover." Before his permanent departure for Italy, however, he played a brief but active role in the Socialist party, even giving the nominating speech for Eugene V. Debs at the party's Chicago convention of 1904.

Not surprisingly, the most durable impulses were those that led to more or less thoroughgoing versions of socialism, whether Marxian or Fabian. These movements possessed a degree of discipline and the guidance of a tradition. At that time, moreover, socialist leaders such as Henry D. Lloyd, Lawrence Gronlund, and even Eugene V. Debs showed a surprising measure of religious openness. The loosely organized Christian Socialist Fellowship, founded in 1906, affiliated itself with the Socialist party, which in the startling election of 1912 drew almost a million votes despite Wilson's and Roosevelt's competitive bidding for the progressive vote. Out of this milieu the Presbyterian minister Norman Thomas, the Episcopalian Bernard Iddings Bell, Professor Vida Scudder, and many others emerged as eloquent public figures.

### *Walter Rauschenbusch*

If Josiah Strong typified the organized mobilization of social concern in the churches, Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918) typified its passion and its soul. Nearly every fundamental motif of the Social Gospel, including a strong interest in socialism, came to expression in his works. In theology, biblical interpretation, and church history he consistently expounded the major liberal themes. He subjected the American social order to informed analysis and found it wanting. He awakened compassion for human suffering and proposed realistic reforms. He delineated the key concept of the "Kingdom of God on earth" with persuasive clarity. And finally, he overcame apathy and pessimism with a stirring vision of the coming Kingdom. At one stage in his career Rauschenbusch was, as Winthrop Hudson has shown, a "lonely prophet," but before his death in 1918 and for almost a decade thereafter, his growing reputation justified H. Shelton Smith's assertion that he was "the foremost molder of American Christian thought in his generation." [11] Because of his most atypical insistence on the power of the "kingdom of

11. Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches*, pp. 226–42; Hilrie Shelton Smith, *Changing Conceptions of Original Sin*, p. 199.



evil," he is also one of the few liberal theologians who could still be read after wars and depressions had dimmed men's vision of a perfected social order.

Rauschenbusch was born in Rochester, New York, where his father, an immigrant missionary, was professor in the Baptist seminary's "German Department." Except for his high school years in Germany, he was educated in Rochester; and he taught church history in the seminary from 1897 until his death. The decisive experience of his life was his eleven-year ministry (1886–97) to a German Baptist congregation situated in the proximity of New York City's notorious Hell's Kitchen. In that blighted district "an endless procession of men 'out of work, out of clothes, out of shoes, and out of hope' wore down the threshold and wore away the heart of the sensitive young pastor and his wife." [12] Out of that experience came the Rauschenbusch whom America remembers. His Social Gospel career began almost immediately, during Henry George's mayoralty campaign of 1886. With Jacob Riis he labored for playgrounds and for better housing. The friendships he forged with a small company of other Baptist ministers grew, with the addition of a few non-Baptists, into the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, a fellowship that between 1893 and 1915 became an influential nucleus of devoted social concern, especially through its publications.

In his own denomination and among the movement's leading spirits, Rauschenbusch had become a well-known Social Gospel leader even before the century's turn. But in 1907, while he was on leave for a year of study in Germany, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, the book that made him nationally famous, was published. Here in seven simple but eloquent chapters the whole Social Gospel was expounded: the social message of the Old Testament Prophets, the "social aims of Jesus," the subsequent decline of social concern in the church, the "present crisis" and the church's stake in it, and finally, "What To Do." Ringing through the whole is Rauschenbusch's doctrine of the Kingdom, a disparagement of older forms of piety and traditional theology, a thoroughly instrumental conception of the church, and an insistence that religion and ethics are one and inseparable. *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912) was more concerned with prescribing reforms for America's capitalistic system, which he deemed to be only "semi-Christian."

Then in 1917, and despite his conviction that "theology is the esoteric thought of the church," Rauschenbusch published *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, first presented as the Taylor Lectures at Yale. With the World War now undermining his hopes for the Kingdom of God, he found reason

12. Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel*, p. 216. He quotes Ray Stannard Baker, *The Social Unrest* (1910).

in this book to formulate more forcefully a doctrine of the "Kingdom of Evil." Having been stunned by the readiness of Americans to locate this kingdom exclusively in Germany, he traced the ultimate cause to "the lust for easy and unearned gain" of the "imperialistic and colonizing powers." He called for a "restoration of millennial hope," and declared that "after the war the Social Gospel will 'come back' with pent-up energy and clearer knowledge." He saw the "Christianizing of international relations" as the most acute sphere of concern.[13]

As it happened, military victory in "the War to End Wars" did stimulate social Christianity in America and lead to a great expansion of its machinery in the early postwar years. But we must first consider the prewar process by which the Social Gospel won an official, institutionalized place in American Protestantism.

### *Institutionalizing the Social Gospel*

In 1907, when Rauschenbusch wrote the final lines of his first book (quoted in the opening of the present chapter), the fortunes of the movement he championed justified his enthusiasm. Josiah Strong, to be sure, had been routed from his commanding position in the Evangelical Alliance, but other agencies had been created. In 1901 the Episcopal and the Congregational churches both formed commissions to deal with labor issues; and in 1903 the Presbyterian Church (North) called Charles Stelzle to a "special mission to workingmen," and under his dynamic leadership its Department of Church and Labor became an outstanding success. In 1908 the Northern Baptists took a first step toward formal recognition of the movement, while the Methodist Church (North) went much further, making the Federation for Social Service an official agency and adopting as a church the very liberal "Social Creed" which the Federation had prepared. By 1912, when the Men and Religion Forward Movement was launched as an interdenominational campaign to win three million Americans to the church, a dozen other denominations had taken cognizance of the Social Gospel. The Social Service division, in turn, became the most active element in the Forward Movement.

At the same time that these advances were being made, the most portentous step of all was taken. Due largely to the efforts of the social action elements in several large denominations, the Federal Council of Churches was formally organized. Since the days of Josiah Strong's rejuvenation of the Evangelical Alliance, a series of important preparatory organizations had

13. Walter Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1917), pp. 4, 15, 224.



been formed, one of them being Strong's own privately sponsored League for Social Service. In 1894 the interdenominational Open and Institutional Church League was formed, and for a number of years Elias B. Sanford directed its campaign for enlarging the scope of unified social service work. Six years later Sanford also did much to found the National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers, a voluntary association based on precedents set in New York City in 1895. Its greatest achievement was to organize the Interchurch Conference on Federation which met with official delegates from twenty-nine denominations in Carnegie Hall, New York, in November 1905.

The Carnegie Hall Conference, besides issuing several statements on social issues, unanimously approved a plan of organization which, when adopted by denominations, would constitute the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The proposed doctrinal basis was made brief and broad: no more than a reference in the preamble to "the essential oneness of the Christian Churches of America, in Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour." In Philadelphia in 1908 delegates from thirty-three denominations formally brought the Federal Council into existence. Although it possessed only advisory powers—or perhaps because of that fact—it turned to social issues at its first meeting, adopting a lengthy report on "The Church and Modern Industry" which clearly stated the church's responsibility for extending and applying "the principles of the new social order." This report also included a statement which virtually incorporated the Social Creed of the Methodists, including its bold assertion of the rights and objectives of the laboring man.[14] A Commission on the Church and Social Service was also established, with the liberal Presbyterian leader, Charles Stelzle, as "voluntary" secretary. One of its first tasks was an investigation of the Bethlehem steel strike in 1910. In its report it condemned both the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week as "a disgrace to civilization," chiding ministers, as well as Christians generally, for aloofness from labor's problems and aims. The Federal Council thus began very early to establish a tradition of outspoken liberal advocacy which would survive both the World War and the "normalcy" which followed. Genuine ecumenical aspirations went into its founding and continued to inform many of its actions, but there is no denying the statement of its veteran general secretary in 1933 that throughout its existence the Federal

14. Many years later the last surviving delegate to that meeting described the mood in which this report was adopted: "Most vivid in my memory is our singing of Frank Mason North's hymn 'Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life' after the presentation of his report. Most of us had tears running down our checks" (Samuel McCrea Cavert, *The American Churches in the Ecumenical Movement, 1900–1968*, p. 56).

Council's animating force had "come from men who were wrestling with the practical tasks of the churches in what was becoming a hostile or increasingly unaccommodating social order." [15]

In the Federal Council social Christianity finally won its place and gained a platform in American Protestantism. Yet because the council was founded through the efforts of men committed to the Social Gospel, it failed to become an authentic voice of Protestants. Underlying this circumstance was the hard fact that most American Protestants were conservative evangelicals who, despite massive provocations to change, strove chiefly to maintain the faith and practice of yore. They regarded the Social Gospel and the Federal Council as dangerous enemies.

On the other hand, the basic political thrust of the Social Gospel was by no means radical. In 1912, for example, its adherents probably avoided the Socialist Debs overwhelmingly, splitting their vote between Wilson and Roosevelt. And therein lies the essential fact: they supported the liberal impulses of the times. One might even revise D. C. Somervell's *mot,* and refer to the Social Gospelers as "the praying wing of Progressivism." To assert this parallel between the two movements, however, accentuates rather than diminishes the movement's significance. A major development of the period was the growing awareness that social change demanded new forms of social action and new conceptions of government. The Square Deal and New Freedom alike betoken the nation's shift. In the reinterpretation of old social orthodoxies and in the storming of old conservative bastions, the Social Gospel movement simply took churchgoing America as its field of action and sought to convert the self-oriented Christian consciousness into one that was neighbor-oriented.[16] In reaching this wide and influential audience the movement played an important national role.

15. Charles S. Macfarland, *Christian Unity in Practice and Prophecy* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), p. 53. The social emphasis of the Federal Council was greatly heightened by the fact that other cooperative concerns of the churches were at that time still being dealt with through other agencies such as the Foreign Missions Conference (1907) and the Home Missions Council (1908).

16. Rauschenbusch stated the matter tersely: "The social movement is the most important ethical and spiritual movement in the modern world, and the social gospel is the response of the Christian consciousness to it. Therefore it had to be" (*A Theology for the Social Gospel,* pp. 4–5).

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# DISSENT AND REACTION IN PROTESTANTISM

American evangelical Protestantism was extraordinarily well adapted to the popular ideals and patterns of American life. Patriotism, manifest destiny, Anglo-Saxon self-confidence, the common man's social and economic aspirations, peaceful community life, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution—all were accommodated and supported in its capacious system of beliefs. During the later nineteenth century, however, at least five religious groups were left unsatisfied by this mainstream tradition, and some were openly hostile.

Most obvious were those like Robert Ingersoll, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Francis E. Abbot, and Clarence Darrow, who left the church despite their sometimes strong religious interests, becoming outspoken advocates of agnosticism, socialism, free religion, or at least total disestablishment. More moderate but similarly perturbed were the liberals and Social Gospelers, who sought to adapt Christian faith and practice to more urgent modern needs. A third group included those whose ethnic background or particular claims (or both) were not part of the old Protestant mainstream. Mormons, Christian Scientists, Mennonites, Unitarians, and other divergent movements belong in this category, but it consisted chiefly of Negroes, Jews, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and a few other large communions that consciously resisted wholesale assimilation or were refused the opportunity. The fourth group was a vast interdenominational movement of those who protested against innovation in religion. Most of its adherents were troubled by the decline of the old-time religion with its accent on conversion; but their bonds were chiefly doctrinal. Whether rich or poor, educated or illiterate, rural or urban, Baptist or Presbyterian, they were troubled by the

Social Gospel: The application of biblical principles and esp. the teachings of Jesus to social problems; a mvt. in Amer. Prot. Xtianity initiated at the end of the 19th Cent + reaching its zenith in the first part of the 20th Cent. + dedicated to the purpose of bringing the social order into conformity with the teachings of Jesus X.

Premillenialism - The coming of Jesus will precede the millenia (100 yrs)

Post millenialism - The coming of Jesus will come after the millenia

# HONOR AND SHAME IN ANSWER TO EXPECTATION

There are certain experiences which seem to be universal in Western society. Precisely because the Bible is considered the repository of a commonly-held and taught moral code, the feeling pervades that one ought to live up to that code. In particular, families, either the family of birth or the family through marriage, places expectations of adherence to the moral code and their own expectations. For the purposes of this paper, three books will be explored in light of these expectations: The Awakening, by Kate Chopin; The Unlit Lamp, by Radclyffe Hall; and Go Tell It On The Mountain, by James Baldwin. The books cover an astonishingly long historical period ~~for their writing~~, since The Awakening was published in 1899, written by a woman born in 1851. The Unlit Lamp was published in 1924, and Baldwin's book is modern, although originally published in 1952.

The protagonists of all three books are people whose stories are centered in their families. John Grimes is a 15 year old boy, living on the outskirts of Harlem in the 1920's. Mrs. Pontellier is a young married woman living in and on the outskirts of New Orleans in ante-bellum Louisiana. Joan Ogden is an English woman living in the countryside south of London during and after the years of World War I. All three "come of age" during the period of their books. Family expectations are important to all three, and their responses to those expectations vary.

Pedersen's work on honor and shame, as it was discussed in class, along with the story of David and Jonathan (as well as some selected verses dealing with other members of David's family), are important to this paper. While honor and shame are very real constructs (that is, they are concepts which we can think about as though they were real objects) and their effect upon lives is also very real, the traditional expectations for living as part of families and meeting those expectations

may not always be "shalom-making" for the human beings involved.

For John Grimes in Go Tell It On the Mountain, the expectation was that, on his fifteenth birthday, he would be converted. This would bring honor to his family, primarily because his stepfather was a preacher, a deacon in a Black storefront church, and a man singularly bereft of his own honor. Gabriel, the stepfather, has a natural son by the same mother as John, and this son -- while his father's greater hope -- does nothing but bring dishonor to Gabriel. Gabriel does not really expect to be honored by John, but John, by his conversion, brings honor nevertheless. James Baldwin, in this very moving book, takes other members through their struggles with honor and shame, including his mother Elizabeth's shame of having had John out of wedlock; Gabriel goes through his own conversion and inability to live out the code because of sexual involvement with a young woman who also becomes pregnant and whom Gabriel is ashamed of and sends off to Chicago to bear the child, where she eventually dies. Throughout the book there is the undercurrent of each person attempting to find honor in a life which essentially does not produce honor, a life of poverty, oppression, and inability to produce honor through the usual channels in our society. Elizabeth, for example, would have married Richard, but he never wanted to. Richard would have held a decent job, but he could never find one, and was finally arrested for a crime he did not commit, and out of hopelessness killed himself -- because he could not find honor in his life. Character after character recounts their search for honor and the walls which are placed between them and the life of honor. John, finally, as the young man reaching young adulthood, now has the expectations of the community on him. There are prayers all around him for his conversion -- because conversion, for this community, means that John will be on the right road to bring honor. John does not disappoint them. He "prays through," and is converted, meeting his mother's, his stepfather's and the community's expectations. John, despite his stepfather's lack of expectation in him, is a son who wants to honor his parents

and the community. He has internalized their values, although not entirely, and ~~while~~ he has some questions about the value of what he is doing:

> "He wanted to obey the voice, which was the only voice that spoke to him; he tried to assure the voice that he would do his best to rise; he would only lie here a moment...and catch his breath... Is this it? John's terrified soul inquired -- What is it? -- to no purpose, receiving no answer. Only the ironic voice insisted yet once more that he rise from that filthy floor if he did not want to become like all the other niggers."

> "...In his heart there was a sudden yearning tenderness for holy Elisha (the young ministerial assistant); desire, sharp and awful as a reflecting knife, to usurp the body of Elisha, and lie where Elisha lay; to speak in tongues, as Elisha spoke, and, with that authority, to confound his father. Yet this had not been the moment ...he had already passed his moment, was under the power, had been struck, and was going under." 1

But John does not go under, he goes through. In a vision he sees the Christ, who takes him through. John would bring honor to his family, it is certain, because he had in him and through his experience the "heaviness" of the honorable person and would produce honor.

Identify the work

However, two other characters, have different experiences with honor. Joan Ogden is a brilliant child, educated at home by a governess, Elizabeth, at the request of her mother, who feels the family is of too high social status for Joan and her sister, Milly, to attend the local public school. Elizabeth senses Joan's 'difference' from the family, from the community, and as a young woman just down from Cambridge, that is,educated in the modern style, she sees hope in Joan. She sees the making of honor in Joan, through education. Joan wants to be a doctor, has passed the local examinations for scholarships, has the intelligence and interest for medicine, and wants to leave home and follow that interest. On the other hand, the family is an old tradition-bound military family.

and the community. He has internalized their values, although not without, and ~~where~~ he has some questions about the value of what he is doing:

"He wanted to obey the voice, which was the duty voice that spoke to him; he tried to answer the voice that he would do his best to stand; he would only lift here a moment...and carbon his breath...'I'm tired, Jesus' he whispered and inquired - 'what is it?' -- to no purpose, receiving no answer. Only the iron voice insisted yet once more that he stand from that filth, floor if he did not want to become like all the other niggers."

"...In his heartsthere was a sudden yearning tenderness for holy Elijah (the young minister) realizing, dazed, shaken and sullen as a reflection mirror, the body of Elijah, and the face Elijah; to speak in confusion, he cried upon, and, with that authority, to confound his father. Yet this had not been the voice Jile and strength passed his tongue, was not the voice that been spoken, and was gone under."

But John does not go unscathed. He must deal with a relation he sees the cities, who says, Him enough. John would bring honor to his family, it is certain, because he had in his mind discover his association the "heavinness" of the nonexistis persons, and would produce honor.

However, two other characters, a very different relationship with honor. Joan Ogden is a militant child, overcome at once by a powerness, Elizabeth, at the request of her mother, who feels the family is of too high social status for John and her status: Milly, to attend the local public school. Elizabeth resents Joan's 'difference' from the family, from the community, and as a young woman just coming from Cain's Ear, that is, through it the modern style, she sees here in Joan. She sees the making of honor in Joan, through education. Joan is seen to be a dodger, has been to the local museum, is for administrations, has the imagination and interest for reading, has what, in Jesus home and talks that talk-read. In his other hand, the family is an old traditional-bound military family. "The text-

"The Routledges do not do these things" echoes "These things are not done in Israel." Mrs. Ogden was a Routledge; an ancestor had fought with Nelson. She had a sense of tradition which pervaded their lives and she was not going to permit Joan to break with that tradition. She also feared the relationship Joan had with Elizabeth, a closeness which excluded her. Joan loved her mother, deeply, and was close to her mother, and it was this love and closeness which her mother used to add to Joan's conflict. If Joan chose Elizabeth over her mother, if she left for Cambridge with Elizabeth, and left her widowed mother alone, if Joan chose to follow that which would bring honor to her, she would bring dishonor to the family, because she would be deserting those who needed her at home, her widowed, aging, weak, financially dependent mother, and her tubercular sister. What was the honorable thing to do? After years of vying between Elizabeth and the mother, Joan finally does what her family wants of her to do and chooses to stay and take care of her mother. Joan watches her sister die of tuberculosis, finally watches Elizabeth give up and go after years of waiting for her, and stays -- deserting that which could have produced honor of another sort.

> "Centuries of custom, centuries of precedent! They pressed, they crushed, they suffocated. If you gave in to them you might venture to hope to live somehow, but if you opposed them you broke yourself to pieces against their iron flanks. She saw it all; it was not her fault, it was not her mother's fault. They were just two straws being asked to swim against the current of that monster tyrant: 'the usual thing!'" 2

Elizabeth stays and becomes a beaten woman. She ages prematurely, the fine mind atrophies, the strong and capable person becomes a shadow of who she had been and a travesty of what which she might have been. Two young women, of the type she had been, see her on the stairs of a seedy vacation hotel:

> "Two young girls with bobbed hair and well-tailored clothes had come on to the veranda from the garden. One of them was in riding breeches. They sat down with their backs to the open window, through which their

> voices drifted. "Have you seen that funny old thing with the short grey hair?"
> "Yes, you mean the one at lunch? Wasn't she killing? Why moire ribbon instead of a proper necktie?"
> "And why a pearl brooch across her stiff collar?"
> "I believe she's what they used to call a 'New woman,' said the girl in breeches with a low laugh."Honey, she's a forerunner, that's what she is, a kind of pioneer that got left behind. I believe she's the beginning of things like me..."
> "...that was what she had become in twenty years."[3]

The question remains, which would have truly brought <u>honor</u>? Would it have been more honorable for Joan to have been who she really was -- in all probability a lesbian, the lover of Elizabeth, a medical doctor, a graduate of Cambridge -- or was it more honorable to have lived as she had, the <u>honorable</u> daughter of the family, a spinster who stayed home to take care of the aged parent, who cared for others, and whose only career would be, as at the end of the book, taking care of others like her mother, a paid companion, to the end. What is <u>honor</u>? What is <u>shame</u>? Was there not shame in the request of the mother that the girl give up everything, career, love, her future hopes, for the grasping possessiveness of the mother?

In <u>The Awakening</u>, a third question of family expectations and honor arises. Edna Pontellier is a young married woman, the wife of a man who is older than she, respectable, involved in his business routines, while she remains at home surrounded by young children. She is 28, and comes to the realization that she wants more out of her life. Her marriage is dehumanizing, her talents are wasted, her abilities neglected. She is not loved in the way she comes to understand love later, and she finally breaks with the expectations that she will stay and fulfill her husband's and children's needs.

> "Edna could not help but think that it was very foolish, very childish, to have stamped upon her wedding ring and smashed the crystal vase upon the tiles. She was visited by no more outbursts, moving her to such futile

voices drifted. "Have you seen that truly old show with the short gray hair?"

"Yes, you mean the man at Lorde's. Wasn't she sitting? My source claims imported of a proper 'gentleman'."

"And why a great French accent for still calling?"

"I believe she's what they used to call a 'New woman,' said the girl in brocades with a low laugh. 'Women,' she's a forerunner, she's what she is, a kind of pioneer that left behind. I believe she's the beginning of things like us..."

"...does you what she had become in twenty years."

The question remains, which would have truly brought Mondy to have been more honest in for man to have been who really was -- in all probability a lunatic, she knew at Elizabeth, a medical doctor, a proponent of cremation -- or was it more honorable to have lied to the end, the [illegible] daughter of the family, a daughter who stayed home to care of the aged parents, who cared for others, and whose [illegible] character would be, in as the end of the body, taking care of others like her mother, a paid companion, in the end, what is honor? What is honor? Was Elsie not alone in her [illegible] of the mother that she died [illegible] years, [illegible] her future hopes, the dropping observations of the society.

In "The Assumption", a third novella of Cathy [illegible] and honor [illegible]. Edna Fortelliar is a young married woman, the wife of a man who is older than she, [illegible], involved in his business [illegible] with the [illegible] by young children. She is 32, one [illegible] in the [illegible] time she [illegible] out of her life. Her [illegible] is [illegible], her [illegible] are wasted, her [illegible] violated. She is not loved in the way she [illegible] to understand [illegible] finally [illegible] with the [illegible] that she will [illegible] and fulfill her husband's and child's needs.

Edna could her help but think that is [illegible] very [illegible], very [illegible], to have [illegible] upon her [illegible] and [illegible] the crystal vase upon the [illegible]. She was visited by no more [illegible], moving not to such [illegible]

expedients. She began to do as she liked, and to feel as she liked. She completely abandoned her Tuesdays at home, and did not return the visits of those who had called upon her. She made no ineffectual efforts to conduct her household en bonne menagere, going and coming as it suited her fancy, and, so far as she was able, lending herself to any passing caprice.

" Mr. Pontellier had been a rather courteous husband, so long as me met a certain tacit submissiveness in his wife. But her new and unexpected line of conduct completely bewildered him. It shocked him. Then her absolute disregard for her duties as a wife angered him. When Mr. Pontellier became rude, Edna grew insolent. She had resolved never to take another step backward." [4]

So, here we have the third situation. Edna Pontellier has decided to break with the traditions, to not meet the expectations, and to leave her family in the end, set up a separate apartment, and go on with her art work, her new relationship, and completely leave the old way. She has conflict about the needs of her children, but feels that her husband and his family will meet the children's needs. In order to meet the needs of a close woman friend, she leaves her male lover waiting, and when she returns he has left, for good. She is finally despondent because she realized that if she returns to the old ways, she will be destroyed, but there is destruction in the new ways also.

"Despondency had come upon her there in the wakeful night, and had never lifted. There was no one thing in the world that she desired. There was no human being whom she wanted near her except Robert; and she realized that the day would come when he, too, and the thought of him would melt out of her existence, leaving her alone. The children appeared before her like antagonists who sought to drag her into the soul's slavery for the rest of her days. But she knew a way to elude

exceedingly. She began to do as she liked, and to feel as she liked. She completely abandoned her Tuesdays at home, and did not return the visits of those who had called upon her. She made no intelligent efforts to conduct her household on "home-economy" going and coaching as it suited her fancy, and, so far as she was able, leading herself to any passing caprice.

"Mr. Comeillier had been a rather careless husband, so long as he met a certain tacit submissiveness in his wife. But her new and unprecedented line of conduct completely bewildered him. It shocked him. Even her absolutes disappeared for her during so a while amazed him. When Mr. Comeillier became rude, Edna grew insolent. She had resolved never to take another step backward."

So, here we have the third situation. Edna Comeillier has decided to break with the conventions, to reject the suggestions, and to leave her family in the city, to live a more quietness, and to go on with her art work. Her new relationship and completely leave its old way. She has rejection some of her children, but leaves that her husband and the family will meet the children's needs. In order to meet the needs of a close woman friend, she leaves her main lover waiting. When she returns he has left, for good. She in finally dependent because she realizes that if she returns to the old ways, she will be destroyed, but there is destruction in the new ways also.

Despondency had come upon her there in the darkness of night, and she never lifted. There was no one thing in the world that she desired. Where was no human being that she wanted near her except Robert; and she realized that the day would come when he, too, had she thought of him would call out to her with a sweetness, leaving her alone. The children appeared before her like angels who came to drag her back to the soul's slavery for the rest of her days. Yet she knew she in claim

them. She was not thinking of these things when she walked to the beach...The water was deep, but she lifted her white body and reached out with long, sweeping stroke. The touch of the sea is sensuous, enfolding the body in its soft, close embrace... She went on and on." [5]

And, of course, she drowns herself.

Shame and the despondency which came with it, as well as the realization that she did not want to retrace her steps, but that there was nothing ahead, if she was not what everyone wanted her to be (at that point in history), left Edna Pontellier feeling that the only choice was suicide. If not honor, then shame, and that could not be lived with.

Saul and Jonathan look at expectations and relationships that upset that expectation:

> "Why has the son of Jesse not come to table yesterday or today?" Jonathan answered Saul: "David urgently asked me to let him go to his city, Bethlehem. 'Please let me go,' he begged, 'for we are to have a clan sacrifice in our city, and my brothers insist on my presence. Now, therefore, if you think well of me, give me leave to visit my brothers' That is why he has not come to the king's table." But Saul was extremely angry with Jonathan and said to him: "Son of a rebellious woman, do I not know that, to your own shame and the disclosure of your mother's shame, you are the companion of Jesse's son? Why as long as the son of Jesse lives upon the earth, you cannot make good your claim to the kingship! So send for him, and bring him to me, for he is doomed." (I Samuel 20:27a-31) 6

the propositional sentence of this paper

Parental expectations, the expectations of our marriages, the demands of tradition, are all worthy -- but are they more worthy than the integrity of the human person. Is honor to be bought at the price of shalom, and what, eventually, is the price of family unity when the child or the wife capitulates to the demands of tradition or the demands of the parents. Whose honor, whose shame is it? It is important that Radclyffe Hall called Joan Ogden an "Unlit Lamp," it is important that Edna Pontellier made the break with her family; and it is important that John Grimes met the expectations of his family, his race, his community. Each person must do that which produces shalom in them, for the true honor and the true shame can only come from an individual who is at home in themselves.

door. She was not thinking of these things when she walked to the beach. The water was deep, but she lifted her white body and coasted out with long, swooping strokes. The tread of the sea is enormous, stroking the body in its soft, place-to-place... She went on and on."[7]

And, of course, she drowns herself.

Shame and the dependency which came with it, as well as the realization that she did not want to return her mother, but that there was nothing ahead, if she was not what everyone wanted her to be (as it was going in throughout Edna's life), finding that the only choice was suicide. It was not honor, then shame, and that could not be lived with.

Dual and Jonesboro look at square rules and relationships that under that expectation:

"Why has the sun of desire not come to take Saturday or today?" Jonathan answered Dual: "Dria wondered aloud we to let Dual go to his city, Jonathan. "Please let go to!" he begged. "For we are to have a plan marriage in our city, and of Jonesboro [illegible] to my [illegible]. Now, Secretary, if you think well of me, [illegible] to visit my brother." Once to who [illegible] has not come to the king's table." [illegible] was [illegible] with Jonathan and said [illegible] a religious woman, an I not some that, in your [illegible] and the assembly of your rulers's [illegible] are his expectation of Jesse's story. May is [illegible] son of Jonas lived upon the earth, you cannot [illegible] your claim to the kingship! So send for him, and bring him to me, for he is [illegible]." [illegible]

Parental expectations, the expectations of our societies, the demands of tradition, are all strong — but are they more worthy than the integrity of the human person. Is honor to be bought at the price of shame, and what, ultimately, is the price of family unity when the child or the wife capitulates to the expectations of tradition or the demands of the patriarch, where shame is key. It is important that matriarch Dual called them down as "their sons." It is important that Dual Tumbalitz made the break with her family and it is important that Jonathan defies not the expectations of his family, his race, his community. Each person must do what which produces dignity in shame, for the true honor and the true shame can only come from an individual who is at ease in themselves.

If we merely impose the expectations on ourselves or our children of what we believe our tradition, our community, or our family would have us do, we are in danger always of not being true to what God expects of us. John Grimes certainly could come out of his experience feeling that he had been true to the best in himself, and the best which God expected of him. Joan Ogden was totally destroyed, because she never gave the best which God had given her. She never lived up to the multiple gifts God had demonstrated in her, and there was a kind of wanting to meet her mother's expectations in a passive, submissive way, that almost demanded that she stop being so "safe" and find some kind of courage to do and be. Edna Pontellier refused to submit and refused to acquiesce, and tried to live up to the best she could have been, but found herself also victimized by emotions she could not control, and those emotions led to her death.

Always the question of honor and shame must be answered in the context of "What does God expect of me?" There must be the courage to non-conform, if that non-conformity comes out of the leadership of God. Joan Ogden never answered that question, Edna Pontellier probably answered it wrongly. Both women were caught in the web of time, which is always another dimension of honor and shame. Joan Ogden's mother's view of tradition was out of synchronization with the world she lived in. Edna Pontellier was ahead of her time. The 'appointed hour' had either passed or not arrived, and honor and shame were time-bound for both women.

If any answer comes from these three books, it is that we are unique creations of God, and must listen to the word which God speaks to each of us, in our time and in our place. Tradition has its place. Family expectation has its place. Community has its place. God's unique gifts to each of us are pre-eminent, and each must be accountable to God for the choices made. The choices are not always easy, the rewards not certain, and the answers not easily defined. We are always creatures living in ambiguity, and how we live in that condition eventually is the value of our lives.

M. Ragona
December 1981

## BIBLIOGRAPHY


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2. Hall, Radclyffe: The Unlit Lamp, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, New York, 1929, 295-296.
3. Ibid. p. 337-338.
4. Chopin, Kate: The Awakening, Bard/Avon, New York, 1972, p.95.
5. Ibid. p. 189.
6. The New American Bible, Nelson, 1971.


including

The titles you have chosen and the way in which you use them (~~especially~~ including your propositional sentence on p. 7, and earlier) respond very well to the intention of this assignment. Perhaps some further scriptural references could have been made though the Saul-David-Jonathan reference is appropriate.
At a few points I have felt that the form of your paper wasn't quite up to the strong standard of your earlier paper (do you feel that way about it?).
Honor in appropriate relationship to our shalom or our growth is a very significant question, laden with biographical implications. To this end doesn't each of us need reliable counsellors, confessors, persons who get to know our personal / professional / social situations, and our abilities, and help us discern an appropriate use of God-given abilities? A kind of "call" to the right intersection of abilities, the times, our relationships and that sense of fulfillment without which death of one sort or another sets in?

Very substantial work which it is a pleasure to read and contemplate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Matthews, James: Co. Will it be the Northern. Dutt, New York, 1912, pp. 124-125.
2. Hall, Hadley: The White Lady. Longfine Cape and Harrison Smith, New York, 1933, 234-236.
3. Ibid. p. 137-138;
4. Chopin, Kader: The Awakening. Dur-Avon, New York, 1872, pp25.
5. Ibid. p. 139.
6. The New American Bible, Nelson, 1971.


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MTS Student Information Packet

# MASTER OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

## 1986-1987
## COURSE OFFERINGS

1830

SPRING HILL
COLLEGE

## INTRODUCTION

Spring Hill College offers a graduate degree in Theological Studies. Within this program, a student may choose a general course of studies from among five areas: scriptural studies, historical theology, systematic theology, church and ministry, moral theology. The College is sensitive to the professional and pastoral context of educational interests of potential degree applicants and the flexibility of the program makes it applicable to those desiring to teach theology on the secondary level, to those desiring to prepare for a new area of ministry, to those seeking theological updating, and to those desiring to reflect on their ministries or freshen their grasp of current theological trends.

## THE PROGRAM

Completion of the program requires ten graduate level courses, participation in a theological studies colluquium, and successful completion of a comprehensive examination. Students must complete two courses in scripture, two courses in moral theology, two courses in historical theology, one course in systematic theology, one course in church and ministry, and two elective courses in an area of specialization.

While Spring Hill bases all of its teaching in the Jesuit, Catholic, liberal arts tradition, the program has attracted students from diverse religious and professional backgrounds—nurses, Catholic priests and nuns, Catholic and Protestant lay religious workers, business people, teachers, Episcopalian and Methodist ministers, Catholic and protestant seminary students. This diverse student body adds an exciting dimension to the intellectual vitality of the program.

## ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS

There are three levels of admission and the requirements are as follows:

1. Unconditional -- a bachelor's degree from a regionally accredited institution, six semester hours of undergraduate theology or the equivalent, and an undergraduate GPA of 3.0 on a 4.0 scale.

2. Conditional -- a bachelor's degree from a regionally accredited institution, an undergraduate GPA of 3.0 on a 4.0 scale, and approval of the Director of Graduate Studies. Students who are admitted on a conditional basis must take six additional semester hours of theology at the undergraduate or graduate level.

3. Non-degree -- this status is open to students wishing to take courses without pursuing a degree, either as regular Spring Hill students or as transient students. A student may normally continue in this status for a maximum of four courses.

## FINANCIAL AID

Spring Hill College offers financial aid in the form of scholarship to those students who are accepted into the program who are full-time teachers, full-time religious, full-time lay ministers, or preparing for a career as any of the above.

## COURSE OFFERINGS AND CALENDAR FOR 1986-87

The courses and dates of graduate theology courses in Mobile are listed below.*

## FALL CYCLE, 1986

**Th 230 Foundations of Christian Ethics Gunti**
Tuesday from 6:00 pm from September 2 through November 25.

This course will examine the fundamental themes of contemporary ethical theory, especially as expressed within the Christian theological tradition.

**Th 220 The Psalms** **Howell**
Saturday from 9:00 am to 4:00 pm on September 20 and 27, October 18, November 1 and 15, and December 6.

This course will be an intensive examination of the Psalms.

## WINTER, 1987

**Th 210 The Synoptic Gospels** **Sherlock**
Saturdays from 9:00 am to 4:00 pm on January 3, 17, and 31, February 14 and 21, March 14.

This course focuses on a consideration of the term "gospel" and the first written accounts of "the good news." The three synoptic gospel accounts will be studied from several perspectives: dates, origins, structure, and special theological themes; the original communities context; the authors of the respective accounts.

**Th 251 American Religious History** **Viscardi**
Thursday from 6:00 to 9:00 pm from January 8 through March 26.

This course is an introduction to the principal developments of religious experience and religious thoughts in the history of American and a consideration of their impact on American culture.

## SUMMER, 1987

**Th 299 Principles of Adult Religious Education** **Leonard**
Monday through Thursday from 6:00 to 9:00 pm June 15 through July 2.

A description of this course will be available at a later date.

At this point, it is anticipated that an additional course will be offered in the Summer meeting on six Saturdays. Exact information will be published at a later date.

*Spring Hill also offers graduate courses in theology in Jackson, MS. For information about these courses contact the Office of Graduate Studies.

## ABOUT THE FACULTY

**Fr. Frederick Gunti** is a Professor of theology at Spring Hill College. He earned his doctorate at The Catholic University of America. His field of specialization is Christian ethics, and he teaches courses in ethics, human sexuality and marriage, and liberation theology. Fr. Gunti has published articles on Reinhold Niebuhr and Teilhard de Chardin.

**Sr. Maribeth Howell** joined the faculty of Spring Hill this year. She completed doctoral studies at The Catholic University of Louvain with a specialization in the Old Testament. She has published in this area, but also has a book on language acquisition for the hearing impaired.

**Fr. Alex Sherlock** has been an adjunct faculty member of the theology department at Spring Hill for several years having taught undergraduate and graduate courses. He has done doctoral work at Marquette University. He is a specialist in the New Testament. Currently Fr. Sherlock is the pastor at Our Lady of Lourdes in Mobile.

**Fr. Christopher Viscardi, S.J.** is the chairman of the theology department at Spring Hill. His doctorate is from the Gregorian University in Rome. He has published in the field of American religious history. His most recent work reflects his interest in Hispanic ministry and the influence of immigrants on the American religious experience.

**Dr. Emmanuel Cutrone** also joined the theology faculty at Spring Hill this year. His doctoral studies were completed at Notre Dame University. He has published several articles and a book on the role of deacons in the parish for the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

**Sr. Marie A. Leonard** is director of adult religious education at Holy Cross Catholic Church in Atlanta. She received her master's degree in religious education from the University of Detroit. She has extensive teaching experience conducting classes and workshops in adult religious education.

**For Further Information**
**Including Application Forms**
**Contact:**
**Director of Graduate Studies**
**Spring Hill College**
**4000 Dauphin St. • Mobile, AL 36608**
**(205) 460-2181**

SPRING HILL COLLEGE
4000 Dauphin Street • Mobile, Alabama 36608

1830

SPRING HILL
COLLEGE

# A GUIDE TO SPRING HILL COLLEGE

## *Spring Hill College Campus Profile.*

FOUNDED: 1830

AFFILIATION: Jesuit; Private, Liberal Arts

SETTING: Residential/Suburban

ENROLLMENT: 1,125 students

ALUMNI: 7,800 living in 50 states and 20 foreign countries

FACULTY: 60 full-time, 21 part-time
70% of the full-time faculty hold a Ph.D.

STUDENT-FACULTY RATIO: 14 to 1

DEGREES OFFERED: Bachelor of Arts;
Bachelor of Sciences;
Bachelor of General Studies;
Master of Science in Education;
Master of Theological Studies

MAJORS: 44 different programs of study

SEMESTER PLAN: Early Semester

LIBRARY HOLDINGS: 138,000 volumes;
541 periodicals,
Audio-visual and rare book collection;
Government repository for official publications

ACCREDITATION: Member of Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools; certified by the Alabama State Department of Education

CAMPUS: 500 acres

SPORTS: Intercollegiate and Intramural Athletics available to men and women

FINANCIAL AID: Federal and State Government programs of financial assistance are available to qualified students

SCHOLARSHIPS: Over $1,000,000 awarded annually

ENDOWMENT: $9,500,000

OPERATING BUDGET: $11,000,000

| | |
|---|---|
| ACADEMIC AFFAIRS (Administration Bldg.) | 460-2162 |
| ADMISSIONS OFFICE (Administration Bldg.) | 460-2130 |
| ATHLETIC DEPARTMENT (Campus Center) | 460-2346 |
| BOOKSTORE (Campus Center) | 460-2330 |
| BUSINESS OFFICE (Administration Bldg.) | 460-2251 |
| CAMPUS MINISTRY (J. Franklin Murray Hall) | 460-2300 |
| CAREER DEVELOPMENT (Cummings Hall) | 460-2351 |
| DEVELOPMENT OFFICE—Alumni, Parents, Annual & Planned Giving, Communications (Administration Bldg.) | 460-2280 |
| DIRECTORY ASSISTANCE | 460-2011 |
| ENROLLMENT PLANNING (Administration Bldg.) | 460-2028 |
| FINANCIAL AFFAIRS (Administration Bldg.) | 460-2250 |
| FINANCIAL AID (Administration Bldg.) | 460-2140 |
| HEALTH SERVICES (Toolen Hall) | 460-2368 |
| HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER (J. Franklin Murray Hall) | 460-2347 |
| INTENSIVE ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTITUTE (Moore Hall) | 460-2180 |
| LIBRARY | 460-2381 |
| LIFELONG LEARNING (Moore Hall) | 460-2181 |
| PRESIDENT'S OFFICE (Stewartfield) | 460-2121 |
| STUDENT RECORDS OFFICE (Administration Bldg.) | 460-2164 |
| SECURITY (Plant Services Bldg.) | 460-2219 |
| (Mobile Phone) | 342-0811 |
| STUDENT AFFAIRS (Campus Center) | 460-2344 |
| STUDENT DEVELOPMENT (Cummings Hall) | 460-2351 |

SPRING • HILL

1830 IHS

Spring Hill College
4000 Dauphin Street, Mobile, Alabama 36608
(205) 460-2130

# A GUIDE TO SPRING HILL COLLEGE


# SPRING • HILL

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Spring Hill College
4000 Dauphin Street, Mobile, Alabama 36608
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# Correspondence Directory

The administrative offices of Spring Hill College are open Monday through Friday from 8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. The official address of the College is Spring Hill College, Mobile, AL 36608. The telephone area code is 205. Specific numbers are given in parentheses after each office.

THEOLOGY OFFICE 460-2169

**President of the College (460-2121)**
General Policy

**Academic Dean (460-2162)**
General academic policy and programs, student academic status, faculty appointments and contracts.

**Student Records (460-2164)**
Transcripts of credits, course schedules, registration.

**Vice President for Financial Affairs (460-2250)**
General business and financial policy; purchasing, personnel, maintenance, auxiliary enterprises.

**Enrollment Planning (460-2028)**
General policies and administration related to: admissions and recruitment; academic advising and support services; career development and job placement; and financial aid and scholarships.

**Institutional Development (460-2280)**
Alumni and Parent Relations, Communications, Planned Giving, Annual Giving.

**Campus Ministry (460-2300)**
Liturgies and Liturgical Committees, SHC Volunteer Community Services, Days of Recollection and Retreats, Sacramental Initiation and Reception, Confidential Counseling and Spiritual Direction.

**Student Life (460-2344)**
General student affairs, health, intramurals, housing and student activities.

**Intercollegiate Athletics (460-2346)**
Administration of intercollegiate sports.

**Admissions (460-2130)**
Admission to the College, student recruitment, scholarship information.

**Financial Aid (460-2140)**
Administration of financial assistance to students.

**Business Office (460-2251)**
Accounting and financial transactions.

**Lifelong Learning (460-2181)**
Continuing education, Bachelor of General Studies programs, Summer sessions.

**Student Development (460-2351)**
Career development, academic advising, tutoring, personal counseling, Summer Development Session.

The College reserves to itself the right to adapt and change any and all policies relevant to the proper functioning of the College, its educational philosophy and practical measures to be followed. This explicitly includes courses and academic programs as well as regulations involving student life and conduct. The College understands these conditions to be relevant to all students, both formerly and currently enrolled.

Spring Hill College does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex or handicaps in the administration of its educational programs and activities, admissions policies, scholarship and loan programs, athletic programs and other college-administered programs and activities.

Grievance procedures, which provide for prompt and equitable resolution of student and employee complaints alleging any act of discrimination, are administered by the College's Title IX and Section 504 Coordinator, whose office is in the Finance Office (460-2250).

Under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974, commonly known as the Buckley Amendment, students attending Spring Hill College are granted the right of access to their educational records at this college and the sole right to authorize the college to release their records to third parties. Copies of the policy governing recordkeeping procedures may be obtained from the Academic Dean. Students have the right to file complaints concerning alleged failures by the college to comply with the requirements of the Act and with requirements for providing appropriate information about the college's policy.

### CORPORATE TITLE

The legal corporate title of the college is: *The President and Trustees of the Spring Hill College in the County of Mobile.* This title should be used for all legal purposes.

# The College

### HISTORY

Spring Hill College was founded by the first bishop of Mobile, Michael Portier. After purchasing a site for the college on a hill near Mobile, Bishop Portier went to France to find teachers and funds for the new college. Upon his return he rented a hotel next to the college grounds and started the first semester on May 1, 1830, with an enrollment of thirty students. On July 4 of the same year the bishop laid the cornerstone of the first permanent building. It stood on the site of the present Administration Building and opened for classes in November, 1831. Spring Hill thus takes its place among the oldest colleges in the South. It is the third oldest Jesuit college in the United States.

In 1836 the governor of Alabama signed a legislative act which chartered the college and gave it "full power to grant or confer such degree or degrees in the arts and sciences, or in any art or science . . . as are usually granted or conferred by other seminaries of learning in the United States." This power was used in the following year, 1837, when four graduates received their degrees.

The first two presidents of the college were called away to be bishops, one to Dubuque (Bishop Loras), the other to Vincennes (Bishop Bazin), and the third, Father Mauvernay, died after a brief term of office. Bishop Portier then found it necessary to transfer the college, first to the French congregation of the Fathers of Mercy, and next to the Congregation of Eudists, both of whom lacked teaching and administrative experience. He then persuaded the Fathers of the Lyons Province of the Society of Jesus to take possession of the college. The new regime was inaugurated with Father Francis Gautrelet, S.J., as president in September, 1847. Since that time the institution has continued under Jesuit direction.

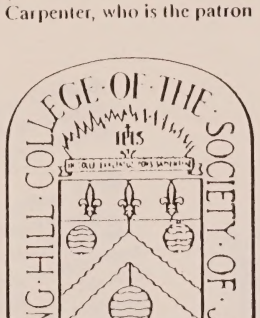
Instruction at the college was not interrupted by the Civil War, but in 1869 a fire destroyed the main building and required the removal of students and faculty to St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana. Bishop Quinlan and other benefactors assisted in rebuilding the college, which reopened at Spring Hill before the year's end.

As the enrollment increased, Quinlan Hall, the College Chapel, the Byrne Memorial Library, and Mobile Hall were erected. In 1935, the high school, which had been a unit distinct from the college since 1923, was discontinued. In the space vacated by the high school, the Jesuit House of Studies was opened in 1937, and the neighboring Scholasticate of the Sacred Heart opened on a site adjoining the college a few years later. After World War II, a great influx of veterans taxed the facilities of the college, requiring the erection of a number of temporary buildings on the campus.

At the request of His Excellency, Archbishop Toolen of Mobile, the college became coeducational in 1952. At present the ratio of male to female students is approximately 1:1. Black students were accepted into all departments of the college for the first time in 1954. The present enrollment of the college is approximately 1150.

## SEAL OF THE COLLEGE

The disposition of the shield per pale divides the college arms vertically into a silver and gold field to indicate that Spring Hill College is a college of arts and sciences. The hood of an academic gown is usually bordered in silver or white for arts and letters, and in yellow or gold for science. Over this composite field is charged an indented chevron, which forms at once an artistic variation of a carpenter's square and also expresses by the indentations the teeth of a saw, to represent St. Joseph the Carpenter, who is the patron of Spring Hill College.




The chevron is surrounded by three "fountains," the heraldic equivalent of springs, to betoken the title of the college. This affords a form of canting arms or *armes parlantes*, which bespeaks or announces the name of the bearer. The medieval heralds were extremely fond of this type of symbolism.

The college colors prevail in the purple chief (upper compartment), charged as it is with three silver *fleurs de lis*, the French form of the lily, to symbolize the French origin of the college. The lilies or *fleurs de lis* are symbols of St. Joseph.

The crest with the golden flames and the three nails in pile beneath the Greek letters Iota, the crossed Eta and Sigma, constitute the insignia of the Society of Jesus under whose direction the college is operated.

The motto, In Colle Exaltatus Fons Sapientiae, is translated "He who was lifted up on the hill is the font of wisdom."

## GOVERNMENT

The governance of Spring Hill College is the sole responsibility of the Board of Trustees of Spring Hill College, whose legal title is: The President and Trustees of the Spring Hill College in the County of Mobile, chartered by the Legislature of the State of Alabama on January 9, 1836. The Charter of the College, as amended in 1974 and 1980, requires that the President of the College and a significant number of the Board of Trustees be members of the Society of Jesus. The College is a Catholic liberal arts college under the sponsorship of the Jesuit Fathers of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus. Spring Hill College is an autonomous institution in its government with all authority and ownership vested in the Board of Trustees and it receives no direct support from either public or ecclesiastical sources. The College has several advisory boards which are intimately involved in the work of the College, including the Board of Regents which consists of prominent businessmen, professionals, and alumni who assist the Board of Trustees in

## JESUIT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

One of twenty-eight Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States and two hundred and thirty-five throughout the world, Spring Hill College is heir to a renowned and successful system of Jesuit liberal education. The system derives its traditions and ideals from four centuries of academic experience and educational wisdom.

The Society of Jesus was founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in 1534. His world-view led him to emphasize action rather than knowledge or mere feeling — not action in itself, but action enlightened by unbiased reason and reasonable faith. He also emphasized flexibility in the use of all legitimate means and experimentation to discover the most effective means of achieving goals. He encouraged men to do all in their power to build a better earth, a true kingdom of God. It it these and other Ignatian ideals which give Jesuit education its distinctive character.

## MISSION

Spring Hill College is a Catholic, Jesuit, liberal arts college. Its mission is the formation of men and women into persons who are intellectually, spiritually, socially and morally mature.

## OBJECTIVES

Spring Hill's program of general studies, adapted from the value-oriented program of studies of the Jesuit tradition, is designed to assist students in developing breadth and variety of knowledge as well as skills in analysis, synthesis, and judgment. Through such knowledge and skills, the College aims at fostering the growth of intellectually free men and women who are free from ignorance, narrowness of interest, and bigotry. It construes its task to be both that of a transmitter of Christian values and that of a critic and goad, challenging students to better ways of thinking and of living.

In the program of general studies the students explore artistic, historical, scientific, philosophical, and religious approaches to reality. Methods and principles are stressed, and a greater emphasis placed on the quest for understanding than on the acquisition of facts.

The College does not regard its only role, or even its chief role, as the preparation of students for graduate or professional school. Nevertheless, it requires that all students have an area of competence that prepares them either to assume a career upon graduation, or to enter a graduate or professional school. Frequently these specializations are in one of the traditional areas of learning or a combination thereof. In some instances they are more technical or practical in nature, but even then the liberalizing aspects of the subject matter are emphasized and an attempt is made to orient each course to the larger aspects of knowledge.

Spring Hill recognizes a need to expand education beyond the boundaries of the merely academic into the personal lives of its students. Thus the College brings to its students those experiences that will help them to develop as persons. Most important is a sense of psychological, social, moral, and spiritual integrity. The values of Christian humanism are presented to the students. They are encouraged to apply these values to themselves and to their relationships with their society, their environment, and their traditions. Through the presence of many Jesuits on the campus, Jesuit ideals of spiritual and educational excellence have an important influence on the students' lives.

The College attempts to create on its campus a genuine community based on the pursuit, common to students and faculty, of intellectual growth and personal development. In addition to the educative experience of belonging to such a community, students are helped to realize the significance of belonging to the larger communities of society. They are made aware of their obligations to disadvantaged people. They are urged to share

esponsibility to bring political, social, and cultural benefit to the Mobile timately, to society at large. This responsibility, which flows from the n, is increased by Christian love — the disposition to treat others as r disposition the college community believes should be the overriding very action.

draws its students from a wide social and intellectual spectrum. Primarily, gifted students and to provide innovative programs aimed at stimulating portunity is given them to progress at their own rate. Within the resources aid program, it also attempts to attract and educate students who are nd socially deprived. To bring students from this group who are below arginal in their preparation up to college standards, the College provides dial instruction. It also enrolls some students who are not from disadvan- ounds but who are marginally prepared for college provided they show otential and are willing to undergo remedial instruction.

llege believes that the presence on campus of such a widely divergent student If a stimulation to the kind of education it is dedicated to. The one common e college seeks in all its students — marginal, average, and superior — is a tion towards the values of a personalized liberal education.

## DITATION and AFFILIATION

ring Hill College is an accredited member of the Southern Association of Colleges hools. Its students are accepted for graduate and professional study by leading and universities in all parts of the country. Spring Hill's teacher education programs proved by the Alabama State Board of Education.

n addition to affiliations in specialized areas and disciplines, the college holds bership in the Association of American Colleges, the American Council on Education, ational Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, the National Catholic cational Association, the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, the Alabama ociation of Independent Colleges, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher ucation, the Alabama Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the National sociation of Intercollegiate Athletics and the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics r Women.

The college is an established center for the American College Testing program and he Educational Testing Service. Tests for admission to professional schools are administered at regular intervals.

## CAMPUS DESCRIPTION

The college campus occupies some several hundred acres of the elevation which gives its name — Spring Hill — to the surrounding residential area of Mobile. The natural beauty of this well-chosen site, adorned with a variety of trees, shrubs, flowers, shaded lanes, and imposing buildings, makes this campus one of the most attractive in the country. Extensive athletic fields, 250 acres of woods, an eighteen-hole golf course, and a nearby shopping center provide recreation and convenience for students and faculty. The mildness of the climate makes it possible for outdoor sports to continue throughout most of the year.

## DINGS

Building stands on the site of the first building erected by Bishop tory building fronts on a quadrangle which includes d the chapel on the north. Humanities, the second and third floors of The east wing 1972


1. St. Joseph's Chapel
2. Moore Hall (Development)
3. Administration/Admissions Office/Computer Center/ Faculty
4. Sodality Chapel
5. Baseball Field
6. Quinlan Hall (Classrooms)
7. Business Office/Art, Music, and Dance
8. Yenni Hall
9. Central Supply/Maintenance
10. Walsh (Residence Hall — M&F)
11. Tennis Courts
12. Campus Center (Cafeteria)
13. Mobile Hall (Residence Hall — M)
14. Yancey Hall (Biology)
15. College Inn
16. Deignan Hall (Chemistry)
17. Physics and Math Building
18. U.S. Seismographic Station
19. Golf Course (18 Holes — Par 72)
20. Stewartfield
21. Kenny Hall (Communication Arts)
22. Cummings Hall (ROTC/Upward Bound/Student Development Center)
23. Dorn Field
24. Intramural Field
25. Toolen Hall (Residence Hall — F)
26. O'Leary Hall (Residence Hall — F)
27. St. Paul's House
28. Byrne Memorial Library
29. Intramural Field
30. Auditorium
31. Murray Hall (Social Sciences/ Teacher Education/Languages/ Human Relations Center/ Residence Hall)
32. Jesuit Residence
33. Jesuit Residence
34. Jesuit Residence
35. Jesuit Residence
36. St. Paul's Gymnasium
37. Swimming Pool
38. Badger's Den (Recreation Building)
39. Tennis Courts

and named in honor of the first Jesuit president. The Fine Arts Department is located in the west building.

Stewartfield is an attractive ante bellum home at the end of the Avenue of the Oaks. Built in 1845, Stewartfield houses the office of the College President.

The Sodality Chapel, which dates from 1850, has served continuously since its erection to house small congregations for religious exercises.

Moore Hall (1866), on the east side of the Administration Quadrangle, houses the Development Office.

Yenni Hall, named in memory of Fr. Dominic Yenni, S.J., respected author of the Yenni Latin and Greek grammars, was built in 1902. It formerly contained the science laboratories and classrooms.

The College Chapel, dedicated to Saint Joseph, the patron of the college, was built in 1910. It is of modified Gothic architecture.

Quinlan Hall, named in honor of Spring Hill's second founder, Bishop Quinlan, is the main classroom building of the college. It also contains a practice gymnasium on the first floor. Erected in 1883, it was enlarged in 1915 and air-conditioned in 1963.

Mobile Hall, built in 1927, is a men's dormitory.

The Thomas Byrne Memorial Library, erected in 1931, houses the central library.

The College Inn, a small auditorium and recreation center, was built in 1931.

Cummings Hall and Kenny Hall, named for a former president and a noted historian of the college, are buildings housing student activities, special programs, and the Department of Military Science. They were constructed in 1946.

Walsh Hall, built in 1954, houses women students in the one and men students in the other of its separate wings.

Deignan Hall, completed in 1958 and renamed in 1967 to honor the memory of Father John V. Deignan, S.J., who founded the department and taught chemistry to Spring Hill students for almost forty years, is a modern structure with 17,000 square feet of space for the laboratories, classrooms and offices of the Chemistry Department.

The Physics Building contains the large physics lecture room and the laboratories of the Physics Department. Completed in 1959, it also houses the seismograph station.

Yancey Hall, completed in 1969, is a modern biology building with 17,000 square feet of space for laboratories, a large lecture hall, and a library.

Three former residence buildings on Old Shell Road and one on College Lane immediately north of Murray Hall serve as residences of the Jesuit community.

The main dormitory for women on the campus is Toolen Hall, a large air-conditioned building, completed in 1961 and named for the late Thomas J. Toolen, Archbishop of Mobile-Birmingham.

The Campus Center was completed in 1964. This building provides ample and comfortable dining and lounging facilities and contains the College Book Store, Post Office, several meeting rooms and game rooms, the offices of the Dean for Students and of the Student Government, the President's Room, and the school radio station, WTOH, 90.5.

O'Leary Hall, completed in 1967 and named after former president William O'Leary, S.J., houses 140 women in seventy rooms built in clusters around twelve living-recreation rooms.

Murray Hall, formerly Assumption Hall, was renamed in 1980 in honor of the late J. Franklin Murray, S.J., Professor of English and Vice President. The building is used for the offices of the Social Sciences Division, the Modern Language Department, and the Teacher Education Department. The Curriculum Laboratory, the Human Relations Center, WHH-FM public radio, Ignatius Center, and an auditorium are also located in the building. The building is also a residence hall.

# Facilities

**The Library**

The Thomas Byrne Memorial Library, erected with funds donated by Mrs. Nora Byrne in memory of her husband and son, was dedicated in 1931, and houses the main collection of research materials on the campus. Some specific resources are distributed among smaller departmental libraries.

The six stack levels, the main reading room, and the ground floor of the library contain over 150,000 volumes that serve the curricular and general needs of the college community. The library, a member of the Federal Depository Library System, also maintains a collection of more than 33,000 U.S. government documents. A collection of 14,000 microforms complements these print resources and the library provides reading and copying services for this collection.

The library has an agreement for cooperative student and faculty use of the resources of other area libraries. Mobile Public, University of South Alabama, Mobile College, and Bishop State Junior College are members of this agreement. Students may use materials only in the various libraries. Faculty have reciprocal borrowing privileges. Further, the library carries on extensive loan operations with other libraries throughout the country, and is among the 34 libraries whose holdings of periodicals are cited in the West Florida Union List.

Since April of 1977, the library has been a contributing member of the on-line computer data base of OCLC. This national bibliographic network makes information valuable to students and faculty available immediately for inter library loan and research.

The library staff works closely with the instructional departments of the college in ordering books and other teaching materials, in preparing reserved reading lists, in reference work, and in instructing students in the use of the library. The library operates photocopy services.

# Graduate Programs

Primarily an undergraduate college, Spring Hill also offers selected master's programs in service to local and regional civic and church communities. These programs extend to the graduate level the College's Jesuit liberal arts tradition, its unique contribution to higher education in the Southeast. At present, master's degrees are offered in theological studies and education. Requirements listed below apply to both programs.

**ADMISSION**

Admission into graduate programs is granted after approval of a formal application. Applications may be obtained from the Office of Graduate Studies. Official transcripts from all colleges attended must be mailed directly to the Office of Graduate Studies by the appropriate registrar.

Admissions requirements are specified under the separate programs. Exceptions to these can be made only upon the recommendation of the Graduate Council.

## TRANSFER OF CREDIT FROM OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Up to nine semester hours or the equivalent of appropriate transfer credit may be accepted toward the master's degree. No grade lower than "B" will be accepted. The Director of Graduate Studies and the faculty advisor in the discipline and/or the certification officer will evaluate requests for transfer of credit. No transfer credits earned prior to eight years before matriculation will be accepted without evaluation by the program director and the Graduate Council.

## ADMISSION TO CANDIDACY

Admission to candidacy requires the following:

1. Students in full standing may apply to the Director of Graduate Studies after completion of 15 hours of graduate studies at Spring Hill College and must be admitted to candidacy after 21 hours. Students not admitted to candidacy at this time will be discontinued.
2. Approval by the Director of Graduate Studies and the faculty advisory committee.

## DEADLINES FOR DEGREE CANDIDATES

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Application for degree | 6 months before anticipated date of graduation |
| 2. Application for written comprehensive examination | 6 months before anticipated date of graduation |
| 3. Comprehensive examination | 2 weeks before anticipated date of graduation |
| 4. Submission of approved thesis, abstract, and application for oral defense of thesis | 4 weeks before anticipated date of graduation |
| 5. Oral defense of thesis | 2 weeks before anticipated date of graduation |

## NON-DEGREE STATUS

Non-degree status applies to those students who meet the standards for conditional admission, but:

1. desire to take graduate courses for own improvement without pursuing a degree;
2. do not have minimum prerequisite courses;
3. are transient students.

A non-degree student may remain in this status for a maximum of twelve hours, by which time the student must either become a degree seeking student, or be discontinued.

## ADVISORS

The Director of Graduate Studies is the general counselor to all graduate students. A faculty advisor will be designated for each student by the director of the major discipline. The students will meet with the advisor to develop a plan of study for the graduate program. The advisor will assist the student in developing a plan to remove undergraduate deficiencies when appropriate. All forms and reports regarding the student's program must be approved by the advisor.

## GRADE REQUIREMENTS

Grades on all courses will be used in determining the overall grade point average. Students who earn two course grades lower than "B" are subject to review by the Director of Graduate Studies and the faculty advisory committee and may be dismissed. Students who earn a third grade below a "B" will be dismissed.

## GRADUATE PROGRAM IN THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Spring Hill College offers a master's degree in Theological Studies. Within this program, the student may choose a general course of studies from among these five areas: scriptural studies, historical theology, systematic theology, church and ministry, and moral theology.

Theological studies offers a well defined and flexible educational program which allows for the diversity of goals of individual applicants. The program is sensitive to the professional and pastoral context of the educational interests of potential degree candidates. The MTS program can serve the needs of the following constituencies:

1. Those applicants desiring to teach theology at the secondary level;
2. Those applicants desiring to prepare for new areas of ministry, e.g., religious education, liturgical ministry;
3. Those applicants seeking theological updating or continuing education, e.g. ministers, teachers, other practitioners;
4. Those applicants desiring to reflect on their ministries, or freshen their grasp of current theological trends.

As a Jesuit, Catholic institution, Spring Hill offers this degree primarily to serve the needs of the Catholic South, but the program is sufficiently non-sectarian in nature to make it useful and attractive to applicants from other Christian denominations.

## THE PROGRAM

Completion of the program requires ten graduate level courses, participation in a theological studies colloquium, and comprehensive examinations. Required courses of study are combined with electives to insure competence in specified areas of study.

The program in Theological Studies is divided into six areas:

1. *Scriptural (two courses required)*
   These courses place specific focus on a particular evangelist, or on a significant area of scriptural material.
   Th 210 The Synoptic Gospels
   Th 213 The Johannine Gospel and Epistles
   Th 215 The Pauline Letters and Theology
   Th 220 Old Testament Topics
2. *Moral (two courses required)*
   These courses examine general and specific areas of ethical and moral response in Christianity.
   Th 230 Foundations of Christian Ethics
   Th 231 Contemporary Issues in Social Ethics
   Th 232 Christian Spirituality
   Th 233 Human Sexuality and Marriage
3. *Historical (two courses required)*
   These courses examine the expanse of Christian history and give particular emphasis to periods or movements in Christianity, e.g., the Reformation.
   Th 250 Church History
   Th 251 American Religious History
4. *Systematics (one course required)*
   These courses consist of dogmatic and philosophical examination of the creeds and fundamental traditions of Christianity.
   Th 270 Philosophy of Religion
   Th 271 Catholic Doctrine
   Th 274 Christology and Trinity

5. *Church and Ministry (one course required)*
   These courses focus on the community of the Church and its sacramental and ritual actions.
   Th 280 Theology of Church and Sacrament
   Th 281 Liturgy
   Th 282 Special Topics in Church and Ministry
6. *Special areas (satisfy elective requirement)*
   These courses cover topics of current interest, practical application, and directed research.
   Th 290 Field Education and Parish Practicum
   Th 298 Studies in a Major Theologian
   Th 299 Special Projects in Theological Studies

Candidates may satisfy the ten course requirement by taking additional courses in any of the six areas of study. Elective courses should be used to give a specific focus to the degree which is related to the student's career goals.

## ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS

**Unconditional Admissions:**

1. A bachelor's degree from an accredited institution.
2. Six hours of undergraduate theology, religious studies, or an unquestioned equivalency.
3. An undergraduate GPA of 3.0 on a 4.0 scale.

**Conditional Admissions:**

1. A bachelor's degree from an accredited institution.
2. Six hours of undergraduate theology, religious studies, or an unquestioned equivalency.
3. An undergraduate GPA of 2.5 on a 4.0 scale.
4. Approval by the Director of Graduate Studies and a faculty advisory committee.

Students admitted conditionally must achieve full standing by the completion of the first 12 credits of coursework. Usually they will do this by earning the grade of "B" or higher in nine (9) hours of graduate coursework at Spring Hill College.

## GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS

1. Completion of 30 semester hours of course work with a minimum GPA of 3.0.
2. Satisfactory performance on written and oral comprehensive examinations during the last semester of enrollment.
3. Completion of all coursework and requirements within six calendar years of initial enrollment.

## COMPREHENSIVE EXAMINATIONS

The comprehensive examinations are written and oral. The written examination ranges over the major areas of the particular program. The oral examination concentrates on the student's ability to reflect constructively on the materials.

## COURSE DESCRIPTIONS

**210. The Synoptic Gospels (3)** A consideration of the term "gospel" and the first written accounts of "the good news." The three synoptic gospel accounts will be studied from severr perspectives: dates, origins, structures; special theological themes; the original community contexts; the authors of the respective accounts.

**213. The Johannine Gospel and Epistles (3)** The course presents two complementary aspects of the Johannine writings. First, an understanding of this "spiritual" gospel through an analysis of its structure, symbolism, distinct literary traits and theological vision. Second, the Johannine Community of the late first century as reflected in John's Gospel and Epistles.

**215. The Pauline Letters and Theology (3)** The actual setting of the Pauline Epistles; questio of scientific introduction for each epistle (authenticity, basic structure, integrity, life situatio chief problems, distinctive traits); the major themes of Pauline theology, such as faith, la justification, atonement, Christian anthropology and christology.

**220. Old Testament Topics (3)** Selected areas from the Jewish Scriptures will be chosen, wi special consideration to the needs of particular groups of students.

**230. Foundations of Christian Ethics (3)** The fundamental themes of contemporary ethic theory, especially as expressed within the Christian theological tradition. Also, dialogue/co flict between the Roman Catholic Church's traditional teaching and contemporary ethic perspectives.

**231. Contemporary Issues in Christian Social Ethics (3)** Issues which arise from a pluralist society in the social arena, viewed from a Christian context; e.g., duty of government, as perceiv by both Classical and contemporary thinkers, the duties of citizens, and social justice.

**232. Christian Spirituality (3)** This course intends to provide an understanding, both intelle tual and experiential, of the spiritual life from a Christian perspective. The course will foc on major themes of contemporary Christian spirituality as well as investigate selected classi from the history of spirituality.

**233. Human Sexuality and Marriage (3)** I. Contemporary issues in sexual ethics in the lig of the Roman Catholic tradition. The historical development of that tradition will be examin and critically evaluated. II. Christian marriage as a communion of love characterized by fru fulness, fidelity and permanence; current problems; issues of canon law.

**250. Church History (3)** The course will present an overview of the history of Christiani with attention to selected periods of time and integrating themes; e.g., the Patristic Age, t Reformation, patterns of leadership and authority, patterns of cultural accommodation.

**251. American Religious History (3)** This course is an introduction to the principal developmer of religious experience and religious thought in the history of America and a considerati of their impact on American culture. Course lectures will span American religious history a whole; research papers will focus in greater detail on particular aspects.

**270. Philosophy of Religion (3)** Rational reflection on the critical problems involved in conce of God; e.g., God and human freedom, rational proofs for the existence of God, God and t problem of evil, God and the possibility of change, faith and human knowledge, and t objectivity of religious experience.

**271. Catholic Doctrine (3)** An overview of traditional and contemporary Catholic teachi with a special view towards the integration and pattern of such teaching rather than empha on particular areas such as may occur in other courses.

**274. Christology and Trinity (3)** A major "modern" christological text will be examined a focus for the historical and doctrinal development of the material. Concepts of Christi anthropology and the trinitarian understanding of God will also be included.

**280. Theology of Church and Sacrament (3)** The relationship between images of the chur and understandings of what the church is, the meaning of ministry within the church, and overview of sacramental theology.

**281. Liturgy (3)** An historical overview of the development of Christian ritual, emphasizi the centrality of baptism, the Lord's Supper/Sacrifice, and the other sacramental ceremoni The course will also present current aspects of these areas including the changing roles of la and clergy, the use of music and liturgical dance, and developments in art and architectu

**282. Special Topics in Church and Ministry (3)** Topics of current interest such as the new ri of Baptism, Reconciliation, the diaconate, and the role of women will be examined in an histori perspective.

**290. Field Education and Parish Practicum (3)** A practicum in parish ministry combining ti experience in a local parish with a seminar in parish ministry and small group theological refl tion. Topics include models of parish ministry, team ministry, parish spirituality, parish outre need assessment, family visiting, response to other cultures, contracting, and other conte porary issues.

**298. Studies in a Major Theologian (3)** The works of a particular theologian of major significance, such as Origen, Augustine, Aquinas, or such contemporaries as Rahner, Lonergan, Tillich or Barth will be examined. An overview of the whole system, selected emphases, and particular books will be treated. Relevance and value to the student course of studies will dictate the choice of theologian and emphases.

**299. Special Projects in Theological Reflection (3)** The course will provide a focus for an area of traditional or current interest, such as the new Code of Canon Law or the Resurrection of Jesus.

## BGS CALENDAR, 1986-87

**FALL CYCLE, 1986**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| September | 15-20 | Registration for Fall Classes |
| | 22 | Fall cycle classes begin |
| October | 3 | Fall cycle add/drop period ends |
| November | 26 | Last day to withdraw from a course with a *W* |
| December | 13 | Fall cycle classes end |
| | 17 | Grades due in Office of Student Records |

Fall cycles are twelve weeks long to allow for a break either at October break or Thanksgiving, but not both.

**WINTER CYCLE, 1987**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| December | 29- | |
| January | 2 | Registration for Winter Cycle |
| | 4 | Winter cycle classes begin |
| | 16 | Late registration for Winter cycle ends |
| March | 21 | Last day to withdraw from a winter cycle class with non-penalty *W* |
| | 28 | Winter cycle classes end |
| | 31 | Winter cycle grades due in Office of Student Records, 4 p.m. |

Winter cycle is twelve weeks long to allow for a break either at Mardi Gras or Spring break, but not both.

**SPRING CYCLE, 1987**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| March | 31- | |
| April | 4 | Registration for Spring cycle |
| | 6 | Spring cycle classes begin |
| | 17 | Late registration for Spring cycle ends |
| June | 12 | Last day to withdraw from a Spring cycle class with a non-penalty *W* |
| | 20 | Spring cycle classes end |
| | 23 | Spring cycle grades due in Office of Student Records, 4 p.m. |

**SUMMER CYCLE, 1987**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| June | 22-26 | Registration for Summer cycle |
| | 27 | Summer cycle classes begin |
| July | 4 | Holiday — no classes meet |
| | 10 | Late registration for Summer cycle ends |
| September | 4 | Last day to withdraw from a Summer cycle class with a non-penalty *W* |
| | 11 | Summer cycle classes end |
| | 15 | Summer cycle grades due in Office of Student Records, 4 p.m. |

Graduate Education and Theology follow BGS Calendar; MBA follows regular Calendar.

SPRING HILL COLLEGE BOOKSTORE
First Floor Campus Center (460-2330)

BOOKSTORE HOURS: 7:45-4:45 Monday - Friday
(Special Hours: the first four days of each Lifelong Learning cycle -- Monday - Thursday -- from 7:45 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.)

THEOLOGY OFFICE: AB (Administration Building) 356
THEOLOGY PHONE: (205)460-2169

**THEOLOGY**

Emmanuel J. Cutrone (1986) *Professor — Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, 1975*

*Gordon L. Geller (1984) *Herbert P. Fiebelman, Jr. Chautauqua Professor of Jewish Studies — M.H.L., Hebrew Union College, 1976*

George B. Gilmore (1974) *Professor of Humanities — Ph.D., Fordham University, 1974*

Frederick W. Gunti (1976) *Professor — S.T.D., Catholic University of America, 1969*

Maribeth Howell, O.P. (1986) *Assistant Professor — Ph.D., Catholic University of Louvain, 1986*

Vincent R. Malatesta, S.J. (1985) *Assistant Professor — S.T.D., Gregorian University, Rome, 1976*

*Robert B. Rimes, S.J. (1978) *Instructor — S.T.L., St. Louis University, 1957*

Christopher J. Viscardi, S.J. (1979) *Associate Professor and Director of Theology — S.T.D., Gregorian University, Rome, 1979*

# SPRING HILL COLLEGE ACADEMIC CALENDAR 1986-87

**FALL SEMESTER, 1986**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| August | 18 | Monday | Division Week, First Faculty Meeting |
| | 19 | Tuesday | Freshmen Orientation |
| | 22 | Friday | Course Advisement |
| | 23 | Saturday | Registration for Freshmen and Transfers |
| | 25 | Monday | Registration for Returning Students, 9-11 a.m. all others, 1:00-4:30 p.m. |
| | 26 | Tuesday | Late Registration begins |
| | 26 | Tuesday | Classes begin |
| | 27 | Wednesday | Add/Drop begins |
| | 29 | Friday | Add/Drop ends |
| | 29 | Friday | Deadline for late Registration |
| September | 1 | Monday | Labor Day — Holiday |
| | 5 | Friday | Deadline for removing "incomplete" grades |
| October | 10 | Friday | Mid-term grades due in the Student Records office, 2:00 p.m. |
| | 13-14 | Mon.-Tues. | Mid-term break, no classes |
| | 15 | Wednesday | Classes resume first period |
| | 15 | Wednesday | Course Advisement for Spring begins |
| | 22 | Wednesday | Early registration for Spring Semester begins |
| | 24 | Friday | Last day to withdraw from a course with non-penalty *W* |
| | 31 | Friday | Early registration for Spring semester ends |
| November | 7 | Friday | Last day for pass/fail option |
| | 26-28 | Wed.-Fri. | Thanksgiving |
| December | 1 | Monday | Dead Week begins (no exams, papers, activities) |
| | 5 | Friday | Last Day of Class |
| | 6-7 | Sat.-Sun. | Study days |
| | 8-13 | Mon.-Sat. | Exams |
| | 16 | Tuesday | Final grades due in Student Records office, 2:00 p.m. |

**SPRING SEMESTER, 1987**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| January | 5 | Monday | Division Week |
| | 12 | Monday | Orientation, Testing and Course Advisement for new students, 8:00 a.m., Murray Hall |
| | 12 | Monday | Registration for all students, 9:00 a.m.-12 Noon, 1:00 p.m.-4:00 p.m. |
| | 13 | Tuesday | Late registration begins |
| | 13 | Tuesday | Classes begin |
| | 14 | Wednesday | Add/Drop begins |
| | 16 | Friday | Add/Drop ends |
| | 16 | Friday | Deadline for late registration |
| | 23 | Friday | Deadline for removing "incomplete" grades for Fall semester and cycle |
| February | 27 | Friday | Mid-term grades due in Student Records office, 2:00 p.m. |
| March | 2-4 | Mon.-Wed. | Mardi Gras |
| | 5 | Thursday | Classes resume |
| | 7 | Saturday | Senior Comprehensives |
| | 11 | Wednesday | Last day to withdraw from a course with non-penalty *W* |
| | 9-18 | Mon.-Wed. (wk.) | Course Advisement |
| | 20 | Friday | Last day for pass/fail option |
| March | 30- | | |
| April | 3 | Mon.-Fri. | Spring Break |
| April | 6 | Monday | Classes resume |
| | 6-10 | Mon.-Fri. | Early registration for Fall begins |
| | 17 | Friday | Good Friday |
| | 27 | Monday | Dead Week begins |
| | 29 | Wednesday | Last Class Day |
| | 30 | Thursday | Study day |
| May | 1 | Friday | Exams begin |
| | 8 | Friday | Grades for degree candidates due in Student Records office, 12 Noon |
| | 9 | Saturday | Baccalaureate |
| | 10 | Sunday | Commencement |
| | 13 | Wednesday | Grades due in Office of Student Records |

## SUMMER CALENDAR, 1987

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **MINI I** | | |
| May | 11 | Registration for Mini I |
| | 12 | Mini I classes begin |
| | 13 | Late registration for Mini I ends |
| | 22 | Last day to withdraw from a Mini I class with a non-penalty *W* |
| | 25 | Holiday, no classes meet |
| | 29 | Mini I classes end |
| **MINI II** | | |
| June | 1 | Registration for Mini II |
| | 2 | Mini II classes begin |
| | 2 | Mini I grades due in Office of Student Records, 4 p.m. |
| | 3 | Late registration for Mini II ends |
| | 13 | Last day to withdraw from a Mini II class with a non-penalty *W* |
| | 18 | Mini II classes end |
| **SUMMER** | | |
| June | 22 | Mini II grades due in Office of Student Records, 4 p.m. |
| | 22 | Registration for Summer session |
| | 23 | Summer classes begin |
| | 26 | Late registration for Summer classes ends |
| July | 3 | Holiday, no classes meet |
| | 23 | Last day to withdraw from a Summer class with a non-penalty *W* |
| | 28 | Summer classes end |
| | 29 | Final exams for periods I and II |
| | 30 | Final exams for periods III and IV |
| August | 3 | Grades for summer classes due in Office of Student Records, 4 p.m. |

MTS

Student Information Packet

Photocopies:

- Bulletin Excerpts*
- Library Schedule*
- Program Chart

Brochures:

- Library Guide
- A Guide to Spring Hill College
- MTS Course Offerings*

*Current copies of Course Offerings, Academic Calendar and Library Schedule will be sent to all continuing students whenever an updated version is published.

1830

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# SPRING HILL COLLEGE

# LIBRARY GUIDE

Thomas Byrne Memorial Library
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama 36608
(205) 460-2381

Regular Library hours when classes are in session:

| | |
|---|---|
| Monday - Thursday | 8:00 a.m. - 10:00 p.m. |
| Friday | 8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. |
| Saturday | 1:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. |
| Sunday | 2:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m. |

Summer hours, holiday schedules, and the schedules of expanded hours for the last three weeks of each semester are posted in the Library.

## Circulation Policy

### Undergraduate students

1. Books circulate for three-week periods.
2. If a book is not returned or renewed within the circulation period, a $2.00 nonrefundable late fee is levied and an overdue notice sent.
3. If an overdue book is not returned within three weeks after the due date, the book is declared lost and the student is charged the current replacement cost of the book and a $10.00 processing fee.
4. Books must be renewed in person.
5. Periodicals and reference books do not circulate.

### Graduate students

1. Books circulate for a semester, all books being due by the last day of each semester.
2. Overdue and lost book fines apply as for undergraduates.
3. Periodicals and reference books do not circulate.

### Faculty

1. Books and periodicals circulate with no date due.
2. Faculty will be asked to return any item checked out only if that item is requested by a patron.
3. Reference books do not circulate.

January 1985

## Reference Service and Collection

Reference books are located in the Reading Room of the Library. Some examples of reference books are encyclopedias, dictionaries, directories, indexes, almanacs, and atlases. Reference librarians are available during all hours of operation to assist with research and explanation of the reference sources.

PLEASE ASK A REFERENCE LIBRARIAN FOR ASSISTANCE

## Bibliographic Instruction

Instruction in the use of the Library is given in conjunction with English composition classes. Class instruction in subject-specific sources in other disciplines is given at faculty request.

## Library Collection

The Library contains over 115,000 volumes of books. There are over 22,000 bound volumes of periodicals and 470 current periodical subscriptions. U.S. Government publications, which currently number 29,000 in paper and microfiche, are received through the federal depository system. Periodicals on 12,000 pieces of microfilm are available for use.

## Catalogs

The card catalog is divided into an author/title and a subject section. The Library of Congress Subject Headings is used as an index to the subject catalog. Books are classified according to the Library of Congress classification system.

The shelf list is a complete listing of books in Library of Congress call number order.

The periodicals list is an alphabetical arrangement of the Library's periodical holdings. Each entry indicates call number--bound volumes are arranged in call number order on the fifth and sixth floors--title, holdings, and other pertinent information.

## Special Collections and Archives

Special collections include Mobiliana, Faculty publications, and the Spring Hill College collection. Books in these collections are designated above the call number on catalog cards by MOB, FAC, and SHC respectively.

The archives, located across from the Rare Book Room, are a repository of official and unofficial publications, records, and memorabilia of and about Spring Hill College.

Consult a reference librarian for assistance in using these collections.

## Reserve Material

Books and photocopies on reserve are located at the circulation desk. All reserves have either a two-hour or three-day usage period. Two-hour reserves have a late fee of $1.00 per hour. $3.00 per day is charged as a late fee for three-day reserves.

## Interlibrary Loan

The Library offers ILL service to faculty, graduate students, and undergraduate students at faculty request. Consult a reference librarian to arrange loans.

## Copying Facilities

A coin-operated photocopy machine is located in the Reading Room. The charge is 10¢ per page. The microfiche reader/printer is also located in the Reading Room with a charge of 15¢ per page. Change is available at the circulation desk.

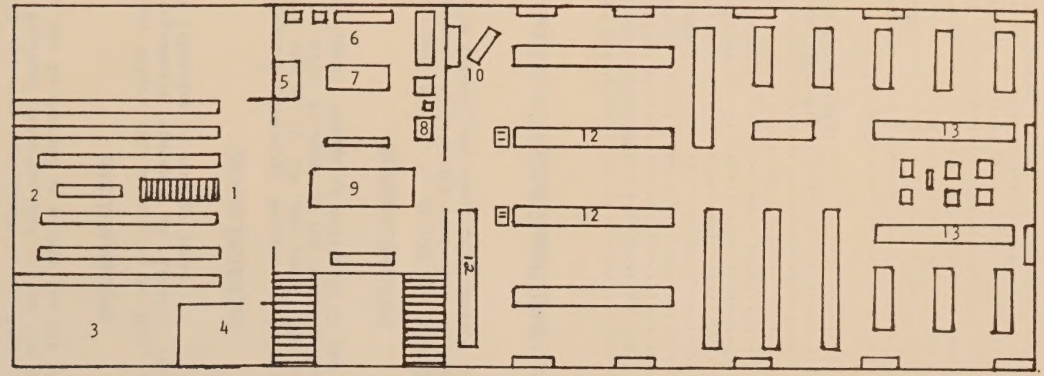
## Database Searching

First-time searches up to $15.00 are subsidized for faculty, undergraduate, and graduate students. To arrange for a search or for more information about this service consult a reference librarian.

## Library of Congress Classification by Subject

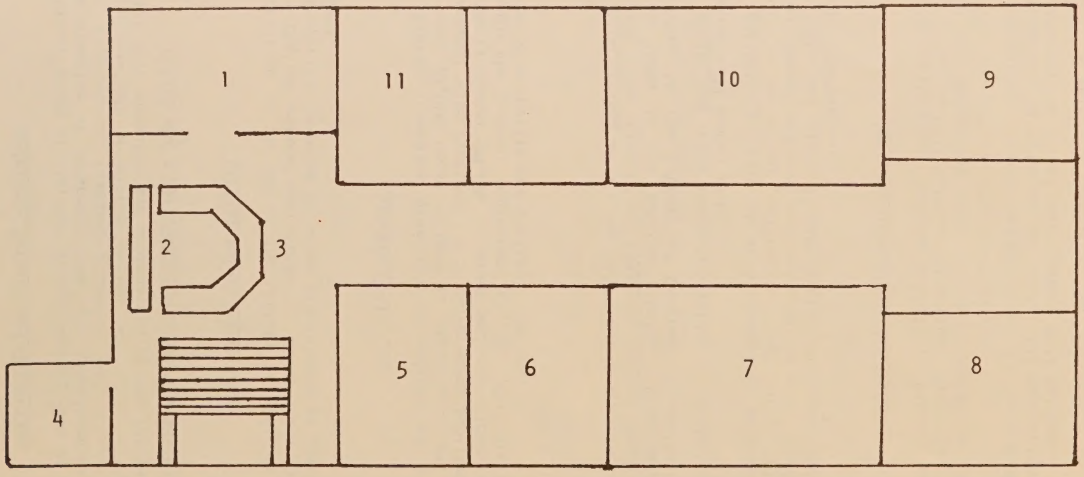
| Subject | LC Class |
|---|---|
| Biological Science | QH - QR |
| Business Administration | H - HJ |
| Accounting | HF |
| Economics | HB - HE |
| Marketing | HF |
| Chemistry | QD |
| Communications | P, PN |
| Computer Science | QA |
| Education | L |
| English | PE |
| American Literature | PS |
| English Literature | PR |
| History | |
| General and Ancient | C |
| European | D |
| American | E - F |
| Law | K |
| Mathematics | QA |
| Music | M |
| Philosophy | B - BE, BH - BJ |
| Physics | QC |
| Political Science | J |
| Psychology | BF |
| Sociology | HM - HX |
| Theology and Religion | BL - BX |

Second floor




1. Entrance to book stacks - six levels
2. Fourth level of book stacks
3. Reference office
4. Women's room
5. Shelf list
6. Microform readers
7. Microforms
8. Photocopy Machine
9. Card catalog
10. Reference desk
11. Periodicals list
12. Index tables
13. Current periodicals

First floor




1. Entrance
2. Reserve
3. Circulation
4. Men's room
5. Director's Office
6. Library Office
7. Student Study Room
8. Archives
9. Rare Book Room
10. Stacks BR-BX
11. Special Collections

REVISED (7-15-86)

# THOMAS BYRNE MEMORIAL LIBRARY
## Library Schedule 1986-1987

**Regular Schedule** (Begins Tuesday, August 26)

| | |
|---|---|
| Monday - Thursday | 8 AM - 10 PM |
| Friday | 8 AM - 5 PM |
| Saturday | 12 PM - 4 PM |
| Sunday | 2 PM - 10 PM |

**Holiday Schedule**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Labor Day** | |
| Monday, Sept. 1 | CLOSED |
| **Mid-term Break** | |
| Saturday, Oct. 11 | CLOSED |
| Sunday, Oct. 12 | CLOSED |
| Monday, Oct. 13 | 8 AM - 5 PM |
| Tuesday, Oct. 14 | 8 AM - 5 PM |
| **Thanksgiving** | |
| Wednesday, Nov. 26 | 8 AM - 5 PM |
| Thursday, Nov. 27 | CLOSED |
| Friday, Nov. 28 | CLOSED |
| Saturday, Nov. 29 | CLOSED |
| Sunday, Nov. 30 | 2 PM - 10 PM |
| **Christmas and Semester Break (Sunday Dec. 14 - Tuesday Jan. 13)** | |
| Monday - Friday | 8 AM - 5 PM |
| Saturdays | CLOSED |
| Sundays | CLOSED |
| Thursday, Dec. 25 | CLOSED |
| Friday, Dec. 26 | CLOSED |
| Thursday, Jan. 1 | CLOSED |
| **Mardi Gras** | |
| Saturday, February 28 | CLOSED |
| Sunday, March 1 | CLOSED |
| Monday, March 2 | CLOSED |
| Tuesday, March 3 | CLOSED |
| **Spring Break** | |
| Saturday, March 28 | CLOSED |
| Sunday, March 29 | CLOSED |
| Monday, March 30 through Friday, April 3 | 8 AM - 5 PM |
| Saturday, April 4 | CLOSED |
| Sunday, April 5 | 2 PM - 10 PM |
| **Easter** | |
| Friday, April 17 | CLOSED |
| Saturday, April 18 | CLOSED |
| Sunday, April 19 | CLOSED |
| **Memorial Day** | |
| Monday, May 25 | CLOSED |

Extended hours for exams will be posted

# PROGRAM CHART

MTS - Mobile / Jackson

Application Form: _____

6 hrs. undergrad. theol. _____

Transcript: _____

Application for Degree: _____

NAME _____

Category: G / T / ND / UG

Admission Date: _____

Graduation Date: _____

Comprehensive Exams: _____

Conditional Status Removed: _____

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Historical (2) | _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| Moral (2) | _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| Scriptural (2) | _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| Church & Ministry/Systematic | _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| Elective (2) | _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |

NB: No more than two grades below B; minimum overall average of B.

NOTATIONS (further undergraduate courses required, less than 3.0 GPA, change of address, etc.):

August 24, 1981

COPY

Boston University School of Theology
Admissions Office
745 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to recommend Reverend Marjorie Ragona for admission to the Master of Divinity program in your school of theology.

Although I have not seen Rev. Ragona in more than ten years, I am aware of what I believe to be her intellectual capabilities. As a student in an English class that I was teaching at Tulane University in the late sixties, she demonstrated her abilities both to interpret and to write about the literature being studied, at a level beyond that of other students in the class. Her study habits were excellent, as was her participation in class discussions.

Please consider this to be an unqualified recommendation for Rev. Ragona for admission to your graduate program in theology.

Sincerely,

Mary Lauderdale
Executive Director of Instruction

MWL/cgd
enc.
bcc: Rev. Ragona

August 24, 1981

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Mary Lauderdale
Executive Director of Instruction

MML/cgd
enc.
bcc: Rev. Ragona

Th 299 History of Mediaeval Thought
MTS Program
Summer 1987
S. Katz, Instructor

# TAKE HOME MID-TERM EXAMINATION

Due Date: Monday, June 22

I prefer that your answers are typed, double-spaced, with ample margins on all four sides.

There is no space limit on the answers to these questions, but by all means, do stick to the point. Your essays should be liberally laced with "facts." Make textual references wherever it is appropriate. (In other words, try not to rely solely on class notes.)

1. What problems arise when the Judaeo-Christian concept of creation is combined with the elements of Greek philosophy? Be precise in answering the question.

2. Is there a difference between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages? Make reference to specific people or works as well as to specific themes or concepts in answering the question. Consider the opposition: why would someone disagree with you, and why do you believe your answer is nonetheless correct?

3. Is Augustine's conversion a conversion to Christianity or to Platonism? Explain your answer, once again, acknowledging the opposition. You might think here of the literary structure of, for example, the Confessions.

4. What is the theory of illumination? Explain how the theory grows, for Augustine, out of his Christianity as well as out of his adoption of elements of Greek philosophy.

5. Use Augustine's Neoplatonic hierarchy to characterize his solution to the problem of evil in as much detail as possible. Is Augustine's solution adequate? Explain.

6. How does Boethius improve on Augustine's solution to the problem of foreknowledge and free will?

7. Why might someone say that early mediaeval culture is monastic culture?

8. What is the problem of universals? (Porphyry's three questions might help here.) Does the problem have anything to do with theology? State precisely one of Boethius' solutions to the problem of universals.

Good luck & may God bless you in your ministry.

SYNTHESIS PAPER

a+

**DUE: JULY 1st**
4-6 pages in length

POINTS

I. FORMAT 15 (15)

Typewritten, double spaced.

Referenced using either footnotes or endnotes.
The manuals of styles such as Kale L. Turabian's A Manual for Writers and The Chicago Manual of Style are very helpful.

Bibliography.
If you include books or articles in your bibliography to which you do not make a reference, you should also include a statement regarding the reasons they were or were not helpful to you in your work.

Essential components of your paper are listed below. They need to be incorporated in such a way that the paper will read smoothly and coherently.

II. CONTENT

Select and describe one or more topics, issues or theories of adult religious education gleaned from the class sessions and any reading material. 25 (25)

Articulate your own sense-making and understanding regarding the above. 20 (20)

Relate any experiences that you have had pertaining to your topic(s). Refer to the sessions and any of your readings to validate your understandings and descriptions. 20 (20)

Apply these insights to your own professional/personal ministry. How has your ministry been changed or influenced by the above? 20 (20)

At

Marge Ragona
Theology 282
Sr. Marie Leonard

# SYNTHESIS PAPER

## Introduction

Ours is a church which, by necessity, must empower human beings to understand the situation in which they find themselves, change/transcend that situation and develop within themselves a sense of being at peace with themselves, with society, and with God (as they understand God). We are a Christian church whose members are an oppressed minority with the seat of that oppression being directly related to the members' greater or less previous involvement in church or their religion.

This means that our religious education program must help church members understand themselves and help them transcend their church-taught traditional beliefs about themselves, about oppression, and about religion and all that attaches to that word. Additionally, our programs must proceed in such a way that the members learn their own empowerment and experience church in such a way that it does not recapitulate their previously oppressive experiences, but liberates by its methods as well as its choice of materials.

Paola Friere says,"critical consciousness represents things and facts as they exist empirically, in their causal and circumstantial correlations. Magic consciousness...simply apprehends facts and attributes to them superior power by which it is controlled and to which is must therefore submit... which leads people to fold their arms, resigned to the impossibility of resisting the power of facts. Once man perceives a challenge, understands it, and recognizes the possibilities of response, he acts." (Freire, 45)

Friere then asks, how can this be done? He suggests three ways:

1. In an active, dialogical, critical and criticism-stimulating method.

2. In changing the program content of education.

3. By the use of techniques like thematic breakdowns and recodification. (Friere, 47)

While for Friere, the problem was for illiterate Brazilian peasants to value themselves as much as they valued the intellectual elite and to learn to envision themselves as having the tools to shape society, in Metropolitan Community Churches our task is to help homosexual Christians value themselves and their religious experiences and to extrapolate from those experiences new strengths with which to change or transcend the society/church which reiterated their unworthiness and empower within them a sense of self and God-worthiness. When we educate within the MCC setting, we are educating for a conversion which says in effect "I am good. I am worthy. It is OK for me to follow Christ." Particularly for our people who face a major epidemic (90% of gay men in some cities are positive for HIV III and of those 57% will die), people need more than ever the consolation of their faith (if they have any left after the church's current pronouncements), and need strength and empowerment in the political realm, as well as individual maturity of faith, and individual emotional maturity. Our adult religious education program can be the matrix within which that happens.

For many of our members, church had left them at stage one of Lawrence Kohlberg's scale and our task is to move them to stage six. By that I mean that their major relation to religion was "avoidance of punishment and the recognition of the superior power of authority," and they need to move to "the belief as a rational person in the validity of universal moral principles and a sense of personal commitment to them." (Fowler & Keen,30-33)

Having identified my own rationale for adult education in my church, my task in this course was to identify, as Friere, how to do that.

Knowles' Androgogy Applied

McKenzie, in his chapter on the contemporary adult makes a number of points about adults in western society which are valuable for MCC.

1. The secularized contemporary adult "walks to the beat of a drummer never heard by those who are conventially religious. In his own way he is religious, but his faith is not so much a profession of traditional formulas as it is a consuming search for ultimate meaning (God) within the socio-cultural contest which conditions his consciousness."

2. Many adults find the concerns of the "churchy" culture to be incongruent to their experiences, their aspirations and their sense of reality. (McKenzie, 90)

3. His values are formed in a social context, but he takes pride in shaping his own beliefs. (McKenzie, 99)

Certainly, the average member of an MCC would fit those three descriptions. Knowles' concept of "androgogy" (which to our church with its internal demand for inclusive language would prove an insurmountable obstacle) which describes the "art and science of helping adults learn" over and against the idea of "pedagogy" which is the science and practice of helping children learn, I couple with McKenzie's idea that the mission of the church is to "make meaning available; the kind of meaning that bestows meaning on all our meanings." (McKenzie, 126) McKenzie suggests some steps to make this possible.

1. The initial step is applied research that gains information from prospective learners about their educational needs and interests.

2. Adults should be invited to help the religious educator plan the educational program.

3. Adults should be invited to help the religious educator implement and administer the educational program.

4. Adults should be invited to provide evaluations and plan the evaluation instruments.

5. In the instructional setting, adults should be respected as adults.

6. In the instructional setting, adults should be encouraged to be proactice (initiate discussions, introduce new topics, etc.) rather than reactive.

7. Adults may be resource people for learning as well as learners.

8. Adults must be given choices and options regarding which aspects of the message interest them.

9. Adult religious education, if it is responsive to adult needs, is a form of service.

10. Adult religious education, if it is responsive to adult interests, can contribute to the formation of community. (McKenzie, 128-132)

These principles embody the "androgogical" approach to adult education: adults are self-directed, are a rich resource for learning, are ready to learn when that learning develops from life tasks and problems, are motivated by internal incentives, including their own curiosity, and are more likely to be task or problem-centered. They also embody a process which is andorgogical: adults learn best in self-directed learning situations, learn best in a climate which is informal, mutually respectful, consensual, collaborative. Adults need to participate in decision making, engage in mutual assessment, set goals by mutual negotiation, and design their own learning programs via inquiry projects, independent study, and finally evaluate by self-collected evidence.

Given an "androgogically-oriented" learning situation, we can begin to answer "How?" But there is more.

Thomas Groome's "Shared Christian Praxis"

Unfortunately, the book is still lost, and my appropriation of Groome's method must come from the filmed situation which was part of the course. Groome's five movements address another part of "How?" The various sessions in which adult religious education is accomplished need a methodology which sees education not only in an androgogical sense, but also in a political sense. That all religious education is political needs only to be addressed by looking at the church's involvement as a political force in peace and

justice issues, racism, and abortion to name a very few. We are teaching people to address spiritual answers to political questions, and that is not separate from our work in teaching about God. God is on the side of the oppressed.

Groome suggests a five movement process:

1. Expressing their/your own reality/experience/praxis.
2. Critical and shared reflection.
3. The story and vision of the faith community.
4. Appropriation/making the faith our own.
5. Seeking response/decision.

If, as was stated earlier, the goal of religious education in this church is conversion, then Groome's movements would help lead toward that conversion.

Leadership Styles - Situatioal Leadership

Androgogy, shared Christian praxis and a third important element -- the style of leadership available to the group answers further the "How?" of the religious education program. Obviously, if one is dealing with a group which is centering on its own liberation, the style of the leaders must be liberated as well. In our church's concept, the leaders would almost of necessity have to operate at the level at which the group is operating; i.e. this group has been in operation qua group for over two years. It is highly democratic and fairly mature. It has been pastor-led long enough. It is time to begin the process of the group taking on its own determination. Therefore, it is time to move to a collaborative (but not delegative yet) stage. Delegative style at this point, might make them feel "abandoned," and support is still necessary. A collaborative style would be the most feasible style for this group at this time. The course was valuable in helping me, as pastor, to see that if I did not move into that style of

leadership, downright rebellion, given the people to whom we minister, might well be in the offing!

Curriculum for Religious Education

Alfred North Whitehead says that"education is the acquisition of the art of utilization of knowledge. The understanding we want is an understanding of an insistent present...The present contains all there is Whatever interest attaches to your subject matter must be evoked here and now; whatever powers you are strengthening must be strengthened here and now; whatever possibilities of mental life teaching should impart must be exhibited here and now." (Whitehead, 6-7)

He also says, "The essence of education is that it is religious. Religious education is an education which inculcates duty and reverence. Duty arises from our potential control over the course of events...and the foundation of reverse is...that the present holds within itself the complete sum of existence, backwards and forwards, that whole amplitude of time, which is eternity. (Whitehead, 14).

If the Bible is the curriculum of religious education, another part of the answer to "How?" was answered by the book, Biblical Themes in Religious Education. Seven themes, the discovery of God, Faith, commitment and discipleship, prayer, justice, sin, and reconciliation were the curriculum set forth. For this church, for these people, in the here and now, these themes apply directly to their lives and can be an enormous well spring of liberation. Sin, for example, is spoken of as idolatry and injustice both of which speak directly to the lives of gay people. Is sex idolatry, is homosexuality affected by injustice? Do we become more sexual in the face of injustice as a means of self-definition and is that self defeating? Particularly in the face of an epidemic, would another means of self-definition

be healthier?

In all, the course actually gave me a step-by-step process for redefining the religious education program of the church, incorporating into the process some of our own in-house programs (Project Resurrection for planning and the Faith, Fellowship and Order workshops) and a new curriculum for our Bible study -- which really needs to be ongoing for some of the members of the group, as well as a new method for redefining leadership. Tom Groome's method fits our group particularly well, in that it grows out of a liberation praxis and would be enourmously enabling for our program.

My ministry has indeed been influenced by this course, and will probably be changed as I have a chance to digest, restudy, and process much of what I have learned and put it into practice.

My perception is that this course has given me the tools to begin processes within the church which will enable and encourage it to become more self-directing and to enable me to be more relaxed in my own form of leadership, thus prolonging my leadership life with them. In other words, they will not have to seek another type of pastor as they mature, I will need to change leadership style as they mature and we can continue our growth together.

The course has been an exciting "opening of windows" for me, and I do plan to use much of what I have learned, not only as educator, but as pastor.

## WORKS CITED


1. Jim Fowler and Sam Keen. Life Maps: Conversations on the Journey of Faith. Winston Press, Minneapolis, 1978.

2. Paolo Freire. Education for Critical Consciousness. Continuum. N.Y. 1981.

3. Joseph S. Marino, Ed. Biblical Themes in Religious Education. Religious Education Press. Birmingham, 1983.

4. Leon McKenzie. The Religious Education of Adults. Religious Education Press, Birmingham, 1982.

5. Alfred North Whitehead. The Aims of Education and Other Essays. McMillan, N.Y. 1929 (Renewed 1957).

a+

SYNTHESIS PAPER

**DUE: JULY 1st**
4-6 pages in length

POINTS

I. FORMAT 15 (15)

Typewritten, double spaced.

Referenced using either footnotes or endnotes.
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If you include books or articles in your bibliography to which you do not make a reference, you should also include a statement regarding the reasons they were or were not helpful to you in your work.

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Apply these insights to your own professional/personal ministry. How has your ministry been changed or influenced by the above? 20 (20)

a

a+

## III. WRITING THE REPORT

POINTS

The book report should contain the following information:

1. Bibliographical notes: 15 (15)
   Is there an index, a glossary?
   Does it contain a significant bibliography?
   Does it have appendices, maps, tables, etc.?
   Give the author's background and qualifications.
   Give a one or two sentence statement of the book's subject and general purpose.

2. Summary: 15 (15)
   State briefly (in eight sentences or less) the author's main ideas, sources, method of presentation, handling of evidence and conclusions.

3. Engaging with the book:
   The longest and most important section of any critical review is this section. In this section you will determine what the author is saying and how it relates to you, to what you are doing and thinking.

   A. What is the author trying to communicate to you? 30 (30)
      What background information and/or illustrative material has the author provided?
      Has the author dealt fairly with his/her evidence? Shown any bias?
      Has the book aroused interest in you, prompting you to read further? Why?
      Was it easy or hard to follow? Why?

   B. Has the author provided beliefs or attitudes that are new to you, or that are similar to or different from other writers on the same subject? 30 (30)
      How does this book clarify your thinking about adult religious education?
      Does the book support or contradict statements made in lectures, class activities, supplementary readings, or facts within your personal knowledge or experience?
      In what ways is this book a resource for ministry?

4. Format and typing:
   Reports should be composed to read smoothly and be typewritten, double spaced, and should not exceed five pages excluding the bibliography. 10 (10)
   Quotations from books other than the one in hand should be footnoted as usual and listed in a final bibliography. Page references for quotations from the book being reviewed may be given in parenthesis directly after the quotation, but outside the quotation marks, thus: "...to clarify her purpose."(p. 23)

Marge Ragona
Th 282
Sr. Marie A. Leonard

a+
Excellent

BOOK REPORT: BIBLICAL THEMES IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Around our house we are often heard to say, "God doesn't waste anything!" I am a very political being, and because of that had wanted to report on Tom Groome's book, Christian Religious Education, primarily because I am interested in his views on shared Christian praxis. But God apparently had something else in mind. The book was lost and I had to find another book. Being in a rush, I dove into the library, came up with the first book that seemed remotely interesting, and was prepared to suffer through yet one more book report.

I earnestly repent of my sin. I discovered that I not only like this book, I love it. I am a Bible teacher. I have taught History of Ancient Israel at our school of religious education in California, and have always held that one must teach the Bible historically in order to place it in proper perspective. Fr. Marino has now convinced me that there is at least one other way which is valid -- one can indeed and with justice teach the Bible thematically to teach "religion." Protestants immediately recoil at that word. No self-respecting Protestant is in any way interested in "religion." Rather, then, to Protestantize the vocabulary, we can say that this book teaches us how to use the Bible to teach doctrine and faith with veracity and with honest regard for the Biblical material without ever being guilty of "proof-texting" or in any way degrading the historical content of the Bible. And for this Protestant that is of utmost importance.

Fr. Marino, in his introductory chapter (another introductory chapter is by James Michael Lee) states that "Knowledge of the Scriptures is knowledge of Christ," and that the goal of religious education has as its primary goal to deepen the Christian's life in Christ (which includes knowledge and love of Christ) and clearly the role of the Bible is paramount in religious

education. (62)

Fr. Joseph Marino is a pastoral minister -- he is a parish priest. His interest is in utilizing the Bible in a program of religious education to engage in catechesis, the retelling of the faith story. Father Marino states that "Salvific truth lies in the message of the biblical stories... in the message that the sacred writer wished to communicate by using the literary devices available to him. The goal of the reader of Scripture is to discover the message...and that message is normative for the believer." (75)

To accomplish this, Fr. Marino invited seven theology professors to discuss some important facets of Biblical faith: the discovery of God, faith, commitment and discipleship, prayer, justice, sin, and reconciliation. Additionally, a religious educator, James Michael Lee discusses the role of religious education and the Bible. His premise is that the Bible is indeed, by its very nature, a book of religious instruction and is not a work of theology; therefore,when people engage in Bible teaching and learning we must "target pedagogy chiefly toward teaching learners to encounter the Bible in such a way that it will enrich their own personal religious lives. ...in such a fashion that the Bible is learned and lived as a special lifestyle in the here-and-now." (6)

Dr. Lee shakes my Protestant soul to its underpinnings by stating that the Bible is not the word of God and suggests that this is an "ontic error," which reduces Biblical instruction primarily to linguistic content (words) and that we tend to know more about the Bible than we know what's in the Bible. With that truth I heartily concur, even as I tremble. He continues that words cannot ever be direct experiences -- but that stories elevate words to the vestibule of the personal in which experiences are mediated through those words. The story is the pedagogue.

The dialogue between the educator and the pastoral minister continues with educator setting forth some further principles:The Bible is living because it speaks to us today. The Bible speaks to three dimensions of the learner; the cognitive, the affective, and the learner's lifestyle. The Bible speaks to the learner as the learner exists developmentally in a particular concrete existential situation (sitz im leben?), that there are multiple learning outcomes which are possible through the Bible, and that each of these require a variety of teaching procedures in order to facilitate those outcomes, that Jesus is the Master Teacher and that teaching the Bible well involves following the teaching model which Jesus used, rather than modeling Jesus as teacher.

Rather obviously, this is not a Sunday School teacher's devotional cookbook that sets out favorite "Bible stories" and makes simplistic points and tells simple truths in the revered traditional way. Rather, it is a serious attempt to engage pastoral ministers and religious educators in intellectually honest encounter with the Bible in such a way that learners are challenged to appropriate for themselves love and understanding of the Bible. This is the Bible in adult terms -- but, it would be useful equally for very young adults (mid to late teens), young married people, or even elderly people who were serious about their faith and wanted honest encounter with that faith.

There is nothing new, contradictory or even particularly challenging about the material which is set forth. Rather what is exciting is the grouping of the materials in such a way that faith is deepened, challenged, and elucidated not from without but from within the material itself. This is not exegesis and historical/cultural learning about the Bible, but is rather an attempt to grapple with the stories, the normative doctrines, the religious experiences of the people of the Bible and our own religious experience today. And for those of us doing religious education that grappling with the meaning of the Bible can bring greater meaning to our own and our student's lives.

This book invites the participation not only of the student, but also the collaborative participation of the teacher, and not in a phony "game-playing" fashion, but in, to used Tom Groome's words, "shared Christian praxis."

That is the value of the book. One could use any valid method with this book -- my choice, of course, would be Groome's. One could lecture, question and answer, use small group discussion formats, or whatever -- it is the depth of the material and the profound themes which provide the crucial understandings of the faith which the book draws together as a kind of curriculum for Bible study.

The book is remarkably free from gimmicks. There are no pictures, a few simple diagrams, no glossary, maps or tables. There are extensive bibliographies of meaty texts for further study (Raymond Brown on John, Paul Achtemeier on Mark, Bo Reicke on Luke, etc.), extensive footnotes for each chapter, a fine index both of names and subjects. Interestingly, also, short profiles of the contributors are included, along with a cover capsule of each of the seven major themes with which the work deals, and the back cover (which was really what got me to read the book at all) fully sets out the intent and purpose of the book. The internal design of the book is excellent, however, in that bold headings are provided which set out ideas and make it possible to go back and relocate those ideas very readily.

Each of the authors who deal with doctrine/theological motif/biblical theme does so from a position of relevancy to today's lived experience. For example, Dermott Cox, who writes on the "Discovery of God" describes how Abraham meets God and discovers a personal God. Extrapolating from that, we are made aware that each of us must recapitulate Abraham's experience. We, too, must encounter our own personal God. Additionally, in this chapter we are introduced to the God of Moses, the God of the prophets, the lover-God of Hosea, the God of the Wisdom literature, and Jesus' Father God and

Jesus' own unique Sonship to that Father-God. Dermott Cox illustrates by scriptural passages and references, by background information when it is needed, and by exegetical tools when those are needed, the rich gold which can be panned from the scripture. By the time an individual/group has worked through the material in this chapter (and to be done well the chapter could be the basis for a six-week series on "God ") the learner will certainly know the Biblical God in a much more profound sense than ever before.

Each of the authors in turn use similar means to introduce their subject. Only one of the authors, I find, does not do it well. Robert Barone's chapter on "Reconciliation" is poorly done, is preachy and slick, and rather churchy in its format. Reconciliation could be a much deeper and more meaningful topic, particularly today when many people have a deep need for reconciliation with God and the church and need an invitation to "come home."

The book has made me want to get a small group together, use "shared Christian praxis" and these great topics, and sit down this winter (probably on the floor in front of the fireplace) and grapple with these great faith issues.

This book is a fine resource for ministry with adults, could be used as a Sunday School curriculum, for retreats, for Baptist Training Union, or even just for personal reflection in solitary study. There is enough meat to chew on for the entire winter.

Notably, the book not only does not conflict with anything we have done, but rather sets forth curriculum which could be used with any or all of the methodologies, but particularly with any <u>collaborative</u> or even delegative method. One could, for example, turn this book over to an educated lay person with some training in methods and invite him/her to draw a small group into study. It is truly a curriculum for <u>adult</u> religious education, and is that in the <u>best</u> sense of the word adult.

## WORKS CITED

Marino, Jos. S., ed. Biblical Themes in Religious Education. Religous Education Press, Birmingham, 1983.

Th 299 History of Mediaeval Thought
MTS Program
Summer 1987
S. Katz, Instructor

# TERM PAPER TOPICS

The following topics can be viewed as suggested or recommended topics rather than as a list of precise topics on which you must write. Since you are supposed to be writing a term paper, your paper (at least the final draft) should be a concise distillation of what you have learned this term. Since the required readings are often rather limited glimpses of what an author has to say about a topic, in the case of most topics, you will need to do a little extra reading. Your extra reading should be mainly from primary sources. For many topics, use of a secondary source may be appropriate. However, you should not consult more than three secondary sources. In any case, your paper should reflect your careful consideration of some text(s).

Prior to turning in your paper, you should come talk with me to make sure you understand fully the topic on which you have chosen to write. At this time, you should be able to state the thesis of your paper. (One sentence may be all that is necessary as a thesis at this point.) Please arrange to meet with me by June 29, so that if there are any problems with what you propose to do, you will have adequate time to resolve them before your paper is due.

I would be happy to read and comment on a first draft of your paper. If you would like to take advantage of this offer, please turn in your first draft by July 1 (and consult with me about your topic suitably earlier). Remember that I will be out of town from July 9 until July 24.

The final draft of your term paper is due July 29.

Please note that the order in which these topics are arranged is not supposed to be significant.

And remember again that these are only **suggestions**. The following list is in no way meant to be exhaustive.

1. Compare and contrast the views of two mediaeval philosophers of your choice on the problem of universals. Explain what motivated their respective theories and discuss what particular difficulties arise on each of their views.

2. State and critically evaluate Augustine's solution to the problem of evil. What main themes of Augustine's overall philosophy are illustrated by his approach to this problem? Compare Augustine's solution with that of some other mediaeval thinker.

3. Discuss the understanding of the imperial role and imperial function by comparing the position presented in some secondary source on the subject, and the position presented in Einhard's Life of Charlemagne OR Notker Balbulus' Charlemagne.

4. Can Aquinas account for the immortality of the human soul without contradicting his views on the the individuation of persons? Discuss.

5. Explain and discuss Aquinas' view of the soul, as presented in On Being and Essence with respect to its being a separated substance, its being the form of the body, and the unity of the composite human being.

6. State the so-called "ontological argument" in Anselm's form. Explain and evaluate both Gaunilo's and Aquinas' criticisms of it. Discuss some secondary source's view on the argument.

7. Explain Augustine's theory of the sign. Discuss the theory's significance for one or two of his philosophical positions, his attitude toward classical culture, his literary style.

8. Compare and contrast Boethius' and Ockham's solutions to the problem of foreknowledge and free will. What strengths and weaknesses do you find in each?

9. In Summa Theologiae I, q. 2 a. 3, Aquinas gives his five famous arguments for the existence of God. How does Aquinas go on to show that there are not five gods, one of each kind, or worse, five kinds of gods, with perhaps several of each kind, but rather one God? In short, how does Aquinas argue that his five proofs converge on a single being? How successful is he?

10. Explain why the monastic movement was a pivotal movement in the Middle Ages. Make use of the Rule of St. Benedict among other primary sources in your explanation.

11. Compare and contrast the views of two of: Augustine, Bonaventure, Aquinas, Duns Scotus, on the nature and extent of the need for divine illumination requisite for knowledge. Set illumination theory in the context of epistemology more generally.

12. Critically discuss Aquinas' view of the distinction between essence and esse. What is the importance of this distinction for Aquinas' philosophy? Be specific.

13. In Book XI of the Confessions, Augustine says "What then is time? If no one asks me, I know; if I want to explain it to someone who does ask me, I do not know.." Well, did he know or didn't he? Discuss critically his theory of time, using a secondary source.

14. Critically discuss various concepts of history writing in the Middle Ages. Be sure to include at least two primary sources (in history) in your discussion.

15. What sort of work is a 'consolatio'? What are its literary ancestors? Why is the work philosophically, theologically, artistically significant?

16. In many respects a culture's development in the Middle Ages resulted from the impact of outside peoples on it and its relations to outside peoples. Discuss the development of the culture of <u>one</u> of England, France or Germany taking into consideration the Viking invasions, the Arabs, the Magyars, and the Slavs, as well as relations with other countries. Limit your chronological discussion from the death of Charlemagne to 1077.

17. How would you reconcile the technological, theological and so on, developments of the early middle ages with the description of the period as the Dark Ages?

18. Discuss the interaction between Church and State that followed Constantine. Limit your discussion to the Latin West, that is, the Germanic kingdoms, the Carolingians, the popes, and the German emperors.

19. Some historians have argued that the Carolingian Empire would have been impossible without Charlemagne's personal influence. Others have said that the large Frankish kingdom was an inevitable result of historical circumstances. Discuss.

20. Trace the history of universities from their start in imperial schools. Critically discuss the university curriculum at Paris in the thirteenth century.

# GUIDELINES FOR WRITING PAPERS

1. Do not exceed the assigned lengths, which are stated for double spaced, typed pages. You will have more control over a short paper, and you will not have room to ramble.

2. Introduce your paper by stating your thesis (the point you will defend in the body of the paper). You might also outline briefly your main points in your introduction. Do not give background information about your subject or author. You have no room for it.

3. Assume that your reader has read the same material you have read, but do not assume that your reader understands the material. Explain all difficult points. Define all ambiguous terms.

4. The topics will be about problems, so write about problems. Do not merely rehash what your authors have said about the problems. Think for yourself. I do not urge beginners to consult secondary literature, since it is important that they learn to grapple with the problems on their own.

5. Argumentation is essential to philosophical writing. You argue when you give reasons for the claims which make up the point of your paper. Of course you cannot give reasons for your reasons, ad infinitum. You must employ premisses for which you have not argued. But in every case try to make these premisses ones with which an imaginary opponent could agree or against which, if he/she cannot agree to them, he/she can produce no destructive argument.

6. Do not assume your reader agrees with you. Argue to convince an imaginary opponent. Thus, rhetorical questions are out of place in a paper of this type.

7. Do not tackle too much. One point made well makes a better paper than several poorly made and or disconnected points.

8. Answer the obvious objections to your position. That is, state one or two of what you think are the strongest objections to your view, and explain why they do not carry any weight and why your position remains tenable.

9. Do not tuck your point away in a final paragraph. Spread it across the main body of the paper. It will not suffer from exposure if you have defended it well.

10. Papers take time. A quick job is often a poor one, no matter how full of inspiration you might feel. Generally, two separately-written out drafts will be needed before making the final draft. Your writing pad is your laboratory in this business. Read each draft over to see whether you would stand by it had someone other than yourself written it.

11. Clarity is a sine qua non of a passable paper. Without it the reader is unable to judge originality, argumentation, or organization. Look at each sentence you write with maximum possible detachment and ask "Does it say what it is supposed to say?" The reader will not attempt to guess what it was supposed to say if it is unclear. Ask yourself if the key words in your discussion do any more than stand in for ideas you do not really have yet. In short, tie down the meanings of key words.

12. Papers with more than three spelling errors or grammatical errors will have fifteen points deducted from their totals. This means you can have at most one spelling error and two grammatical errors, for example. If you cannot ascertain whether your writing is grammatically correct, get help early on. Proofread!!

13. Document your claims about what the authors you refer to hold. Be certain you refer to the appropriate text. Papers that do not clearly demonstrate that the student has done the reading and not merely relied on class notes will receive a grade of no higher than "65".

14. Write a brief conclusion in which you summarize what you think you have shown.

15. Don't get up-tight before or during writing a paper. Try to write to find things for yourself. After all, if you don't like your first draft, you can always revise it.

16. Before sitting down to make the final draft of a paper, reread 1 - 15.

Marge Ragona
TH 299
Dr. Katz

HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT I

1. Philosophy of history and history of philosophy obviously deal with two different disciples! -- philosophy and history. A philosophy of history would deal with topics that include a definition of history, historiography, historicity, and what is/are or is/are not the proper methodology and topics of history.

A history of philosophy would apply the methods and tools of history to philosophy and try to describe historically what the progression of philosophy has been through time -- who philosophers were, a general description of their thinking, the roots of their thought in the past, their effect on their times, and their lasting effect on philosophy itself and on history. It would apply proper tests of when and where texts were written, how "true" historically it is (as opposed, for example, to hagiography -- which though a true example of its own genre -- is not a true example of historical fact, i.e., does not meet the test of historicity.

This course, I assume, meets the qualifications of the latter.

nice answer, but notice that it's philosophers, people w/ academic training in philosophy who do both phil of hist and hist of phil

2. Three problems that arise when one asks "When did the Middle Ages begin," probably begin with the question, "Who's asking?"

Dates as early as 200 or as late as 800 have been assigned as a beginning, while almost all are in agreement that the Fall of Constantinople signifies the end of the Middle Ages.

Some possible beginnings might be based on disciples; for example:

History: 410 The sack of Rome by the Vandals and the first barbarian emperor, or

800 Charlemagne's crowning by the pope.

Religion: 312 Christianity is recognized as the official religion or the Roman Empire, or

600 The Pontificate of Gregory I.

Philosophy 350-1450 The time during which church doctrine measures speculation.

I goofed here) 312 marks the edict of toleration rather than real official Christianity - that comes c. 380

The problems are inherent even within the disciplines -- there is not agreement internally as when it it all began.

Beginnings, historically, are always difficult; it is hart to tell, except in retrospect, when change begins. It can be subtle and hidden or sudden and catastrophic, or a combination of both. The Middle Ages is more likely the third. There was both subtle change in ways of thinking (i.e. Augustine's continued use of Platonic methods, which roots him in antiquity) and catastrophic change (i.e. the seige of Rome and the advent of the barbarians.) The extension into Northern Europe of the Roman Empire had more far-reaching effects, but was spread over time and it makes a specific pinpoint difficult.

Philosophically, the problem with ascertaining a beginning date is that the thought of the middle ages is still so full of Platonism

that, in effect, it is a prolongation of ancient classical philosophy outside its time, not a new beginning, although it is done within a new framework, Christianity.

Nice answer

3c. Divine omniscience causes a problem for human free will since, if God knows it will happen, it will happen and if it is will happen, then there is no freedom of the will; i.e. there is no way to change or prevent what will happen.

However, Augustine says, "Our will is not our will unless it is in our power." And since it is in our power it is free.

When God has foreknowledge of our will, it will be the will that is foreknown, and God has knowledge of our power over it.

Augustine gets out of the predicament of God being unjust by punishing sins that must be by stating that because God foreknows God does not cause sin; God is not the cause of all God foreknows.

good

3d. The difference between a "thing" and a "sign" in Augustine's thought is that the "thing" is real -- it is an object or an objective reality. The "sign" is the word, gesture, picture, or literal sign that we use to speak of or indicate the reality. A sign is removed from reality. It may be a word, a pointing gesture, a picture or cartoon, or an agreed-upon convention (such as in modern days the international traffic signs, men's and ladies room signs, or the no smoking signs) which means the same thing to those agreeing to use it. He also says that to worship a sign (symbol, like cross, etc.) without understanding its significance is to be a slave to that sign, not a free being, which becomes important for the discussion of literalness and the Scriptures.

why not women's ?

To Augustine, words are signs, and written words are signs of signs. also synonyms, for example, are signs of signs, further removed from the reality. Signs, says Augustine, have a value because they are agreed upon with the consent of a society.

3f. For Augustine, the problem of interpreting Scripture literally, is an extension of his discussion of signs and the reality they are intended to signify.

For one thing, some of the Scripture uses figurative language, and if figurative possibly ambiguous in meaning. Figurative expressions cannot be taken literally, and if understood literally, are "understood carnally." (OCD, III, 5)

He goes on, "It is carnal slavery to adhere to a usefully instituted sign instead of the thing it was designed to signify." And this is a burden.

We risk misunderstanding an missing the point if we slavishly follow the signs (words) and do not look for the underlying thoughts (reality in a spiritual sense). here you could answer a bit more in your own words.

on the whole, however, your answers are good

23/25

Th 299 History of Mediaeval Thought
MTS Program
Summer 1987
S. Katz, Instructor

HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT 2

The instructions are the same as on the first assignment. Due Date: June 20.

1. What is the difference between a Roman and a barbarian? Is it possible for a Roman to become a barbarian, or conversely?

2. State, in your own words, Porphyry's three questions. Very briefly, explain what they are asking.

3. Summarize, in at most two paragraphs, Gregory of Tours' attitude toward history.

4. Briefly explain the significance of Clovis' conversion.

Th 299 History of Mediaeval Thought
MTS Program
Summer 1987
S. Katz, Instructor

HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT 1

INSTRUCTIONS: Submit by Mon. June 15.

Keep your answers concise and to the point. Do not ramble. Although one could respond to these questions at some length, elaborating on connections, and so on, please resist any temptation to do so. The questions are supposed to require rather narrow, precise answers. Try to answer them in one or <u>at most</u> two paragraphs. You will have ample opportunity to expound on your thoughts about "the big picture" later.

The assignment may be handwritten, neatly, if that is more convenient. In any case, leave ample margins so that I can comment on the page.

1. Describe the difference between philosophy of history and history of philosophy.

2. State three problems that arise when one asks, "when did the Middle Ages begin?"

3. Answer any <u>three</u> of the following questions about Augustine.

   a. Summarize Augustine's attitude toward classical culture. On Christian Doct. pp 5 #60

   b. State what is wrong with Manichaean dualism in terms of the Augustinian hierarchy. Guide to Confessions; V, 3-7

   c. Why does divine omniscience pose a problem for human free will? (Book III, <u>On Free Choice of the Will</u>.) Lecture Notes

   d. Describe the difference between a thing and a sign. On Christian Doctrine ~~Lect. 1~~ 8. II.2

   e. Describe the difference between using something and enjoying something. p.9 O.C.D. p.18 O.C.D.

   f. What is wrong with interpreting all of Scripture literally? O.C.D. last half. 117 Conf.

4. What is the difference between a Roman and a barbarian? Is it possible for a Roman to become a barbarian, or conversely?

Save until next Sat.

Deny the Egypt. — body affects soul

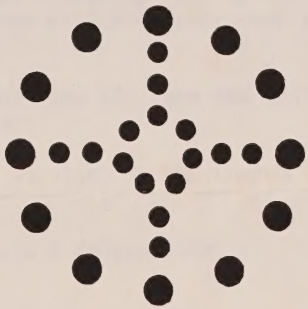
if god knows it will happen

Sign stands for thing

Blood and language —
gap in belief / Arian heresy or pagan
— Culture — inf. by classical Greek
Tribal vs. Urban

*North*
WISDOM
BUFFALO
WHITE

*West*
INTROSPECTION
BEAR
BLACK



*East*
ILLUMINATION
EAGLE
YELLOW

*South*
INNOCENCE
MOUSE
GREEN

Boston University

School of Theology
745 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

20 August 1986

Rev. Marjorie F. Ragona
55 North Reed Avenue
Mobile, AL 36604

Dear Ms. Ragona:

In response to your letter, I am sorry but I am not able to send you an "unofficial transcript". Academic records (transcripts) are no longer maintained by individual schools within the University. The University Registrar's Office now carries complete responsibility for academic record keeping and transcript requests. Due to the fact that you do owe the University money, they will not honor your transcript request until your account is clear.

Meanwhile, I can tell you that you did take the following courses during the fall 1981 semester:

TC 803 Christian Vocation in the Church
1 credit

TC 811 TPM Worship & Celebration
2 credits

TO 814 Cultural Backround of the Old Testament
4 credits

TY 702 Personality, Culture & Religious Development
4 credits

TY 748 Intro. to Pastoral Counseling
4 credits

You received passing grades in all of the above courses.

I hope this information will prove helpful to you. Best wishes as you pursue your continuing educational and vocational goals.

Sincerely,

Jean Osborn

Jean Osborn
Registrar

enclosure
JO/mjt

Bryan University

School of Theology
[illegible]
Bryan University

20 August 1988

Rev. Marjorie F. Raguna
55 North Road Avenue
Mobile, AL 36607

Dear Ms. Raguna:

In response to your letter, I am sorry, but I am not able to send you an "unofficial transcript". Academic records (transcripts) are to longer maintained by individual schools within the University. The University Registrar's Office now carries complete responsibility for academic record keeping and transcript requests. Due to the fact that you do owe the University money, they will not honor your transcript request until your account is clear.

Meanwhile, I can tell you that you did take the following courses during the fall 1981 semester:

TC 503 Christian Vocation in the Church
1 credit

TC 811 TPM Worship & Celebration
2 credits

TO 814 Cultural Background of the Old Testament
4 credits

TY 702 Personality, Culture & Religious Development
4 credits

TY 713 Intro. to Pastoral Counseling
4 credits

You received passing grades in all of the above courses.

I hope this information will prove helpful to you. Best wishes as you pursue your continuing educational and vocational goals.

Sincerely,

Dean Osborn
Registrar

enclosure

Marge Ragona

## Personal Piety, Abstinance and Abolition

The series of speeches, sermon, and articles which Mathisen has chosen for these chapters bring to the forefront the bitter quarrel the churches engaged in during the years just prior to the Civil War. For Northern/Abolitionist Christians slavery was not merely an economic issue; it was Sin, and should be treated as such. For the Southern/Pro-Slavery faction, it was Biblical, and therefore possible. Furthermore, from their perspective, no one dared call the Southerners sinners for holding slaves, and to do so was "covetousness," according to a "Letter" written by James H. Hammond.

Numerous denominational splits due to the slavery issue occurred among Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and most major denominations, and most of these divisions have never been healed.

William Ellery Channing's essay calls attention to the "scare tactics" which were being used to frighten people into continuing to support the Institution, primarily with the suggestion being that there would be a time of terror (presumably for whites) after the slaves were emancipated, and thus it would be advantageous (plus being profitable, to use Channing's word) for slavery to be maintained. This, of course, he decries. Channing stresses that Christianity is built upon a principle of universal love, and the subjugation of people -- despite their darker skin and humble condition -- who need to be recipients of that love calls for Christians to turn away from slavery.

## Personal Wish, Abolitionism and Abolition

The series of speeches, sermons, and articles which Mathison has chosen for this chapter bring to the foreground the bitter quarrel the churches engaged in during the years just prior to the Civil War. For the Northern Abolitionist Christians slavery was not merely an economic issue; it was sin, and should be treated as such. For the Southern Pro-Slavery position, it was biblical, and therefore possible. Therefore, from their perspectives, no one dared call the antagonists slavers for holding slaves, and to do so was "covetousness," according to a "letter" written by James H. Thornwood.

The number of denominational splits due to the slavery issue occurred in some instances, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lost Cause denominations, and most of these divisions have never been healed.

William Henry Channing's sermon calls attention to the "Lucre Doctrine" which was being used to justify the lust continuing to support the institution, ordinarily with the supposition being that there would be a time of terror (crises only for whites) after the slaves were emancipated, and this it would be to be avoided (this "sin" justifiable, to use Channing's word) for slavery to be maintained. This, of course, is doctrine. Channing stresses that Christianity is built upon a principle of universal love, and the condition of human beings - regardless their darker skin and servile condition - who need to be reminded of that love calls for Christians to turn away from slavery.

Writing in favor of slavery, James Hammond expresses his belief that for the Biblical owner of "man-servant and maid-servant" these were "distinctly consecrated as his property, and guaranteed to him for his exclusive benefit, in the most solemn manner..." Thus arguing that the Bible was expressly pro-slavery, and not only for the current times but was an "inevitable condition of society." My father, a Methodist preacher, used to say that "even the Devil could quote Scripture." And so the two opposing forces, each with God on their side, stood toe-to-toe, squared off for the battle.' Thornwell, the third writer on the subject, speaking for the Presbyterians, neatly sidesteps the issue by declaring that slavery "is a question which exclusively belongs to the State," and that the Church (that is, the newly organized Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America) "has no right...to enjoin it as a duty or condemn it as a sin," which quite obviously those of Channing's belief were doing. It becomes obvious, on further reading Thornwell, that the newly formed Presbyterian body believed that the Africans who were enslaved were so for their own benefit, the system was kindly and benevolent, and they (the slaves), furthermore, needed the discipline. The real business of the church was "Sin and Satan," and presumably those great sins of the time, whiskey, sabbath-breaking, and political chicanery.

Further articles in the next chapter speak to these. Revivalist Charles G. Finney calls to the church-going Americans to use their votes wisely to place in office decent politicians, to support Sabbath-keeping, join with those Christian benevolent societies, and, of course, refrain from the sin of slave-holding. Finney, outspokenly anti-slavery, further states that the churches should forbid membership to slave-holders, but groups slavery as an equivalent sin with drunkenness, profanation of the sabbath and unwise voting.

Theodore Weld, an ardent abolitionist, speaks strongly against slavery, and defines its differences from other forms of political deprivation, thus outlining exactly what freedoms are lost to the slave (and incidentally, pointing out that women held the same position as children in the society of the time). Weld turns James Hammond's argument for slavery, that to deprive a man of his slaves was to "covet" them, into an argument that to keep slaves was to covet not only the man's servant, as was prohibited in the Bible, but to covet the man himself.

In all, these articles speak the mind of the time, permitting us to see slaveholder and abolitionist quoting Scripture, the Church speaking for and against the slaveholder, and Christians (at least Protestant Christians) trying to find the mind of Jesus in an area where he was conspiciously silent.

The foreshadowing of the social gospel is present in the antislavery writings, and the personal piety stance of the Southern churches and the denial of responsibility for the social ills of the world begins to be apparent in these articles. The long argument between northern and southern churches as to the Christian's responsibility seems to have begun and will continue for the next 150 years, continuing even to the present day. The lines are drawn between Southern/fundamentalist and Northern/liberal even as early as the arguments for and against slavery.

A-

Good point: where serious theology (reflection on faith, not limited to purely Biblical vocabulary, images, etc, though based on Biblical underlying principles) begins.

Theodore Weld, an ardent abolitionist, speaks strongly against slavery, and defines the differences from other forms of political deprivation, thus outlining exactly what freedoms are lost to the slave (and but briefly, pointing out that women hold the same position as children in the society of the time). Weld turns James Gunning's argument for slavery, that to deprive a man of his slaves was to "cover" them, into an argument that to keep slaves was to cover not only the man's slaves, but the man's humanity, as well, that to cover the man himself.

In all, these articles speak the mind of the time, presenting an anti-slavery/anti-abolitionist point of view. The Church preaching for and against the slaveholder, and emancipation (at least from some Christians) trying to find the mind of Jesus in an area where he was conspicuously silent.

The pressure/knowledge of his social position to preserve in the antislavery work was, and is (around) also, across of the southern churches and the death of responsibility for the social life of the world begins to be apparent in these articles. The long argument between northern and southern churches as to the Christian's responsibility seems to have begun and will continue for the next 100 years, continuing even to the present day. The lines are drawn between Southern/Traditionalist and Northern/Liberal even as early as the arguments for and against slavery.

Marge Ragona

NATIVISM AND CULTURAL PLURALISM IN AMERICA

Robert N. Bellah

Bellah, in this chapter, breaks another myth of the American dream: the myth of the melting pot.

For Bellah, America never was the melting pot many hoped and dreamed it to be; there was always some group which stood outside, unable to fit the mold into which Americans could be poured. In Colonial times, Bellah suggests that it was the "Dutch," the German immigrant whose ways were foreign to his English neighbor and who received the same treatment that the later Irish, Italians, Eastern and other Southern Europeans, the African and even to the present in our society we see the Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodian influxes suffering the same treatment. Sentence structure / clarity!

We are a nation of immigrants who hate immigrants! Bellah points out that there has always been a myth that America welcomed the immigrant, but the truth has actually been otherwise. We fear those who are different from us, with "us" being white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants. For the immigrant who could be absorbed more readily, there was grudging acceptance. For the immigrant who was not so readily assimilable, becoming Americanized took longer, was made more difficult, and that person or group had to contend with more hostile greeting from the prior waves of immigrants. Bellah points out that we are <u>not</u> a multicultural nation. We are a unicultural nation which tolerates other cultures, but which would prefer to enforce the primary culture on all comers, and cites Henry Ford's "melting pot" into which went the multiplicity of cultures (costumes, dance, music and all) and who came out neatly Americanized, singing the "Star-Spangled Banner." Yet, although Bellah does not mention it, our uniqueness as a nation is in part due to the very presence of many national groups and their importations. Very

few nations reflect the multiplicities of culture that we do in our eating habits, the variety of importations into our language, and the variety of national customs which we have adopted. Yet we seem to despise the very nature of our diversity. There is still something about America which would like everyone to be white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, and if they cannot be that, they could at least behave WASP. We have always assumed that those who differ from that norm require greater policing, since they could not be counted on to be law-abiding.

Bellah reminds us that in the '60's the youth of America turned its back on these values and there was an attmpt by them to redefine "evilness" as power over minority groups. Youth joined forces with the "other" in a revolution which included nearly the entire culture. While we have recovered (with some political help from the Republican forces) from that revolution, there has been some lasting value. Power, while by no means equally apportioned, is no longer totally in the hands of male WASPS. Bellah is, however, quick to point out that with the erosion of old values there is a nostalgia for the rural Protestant values, and we are aware that Protestant fundamentalism yearns for the "church in the wildwood," and lustily sings the old revival hyms, begs for a return to the "Old Time Gospel," and is terrified of the pluralism and multiplicity of the present society. We wonder how much more terrified they would be if their anti-intellectual stance would permit them to realize how much of America is literally owned by Japanese and Arab financial cartels.

Bellah concludes with an almost pessimistic comment that unless we cease de destroying every genuine element of culture and community, there can be no hope for utopian renewal or recovery of millenial newness. Is this so? Or are we just maturing as a society, getting past our brand newness? We have both come too far and not far enough.

good questions

We in the world of religion face a challenge to bring together widely disparate groups with centuries of distrust behind them. We have made great progress, as Bellah points out, in ecumenism and brotherhood movements. But the titanic forces of fundamentalism are not part of that movement, are anti-intellectual, antiscientific, and have been isolated from the mainstream by a kind of Calvinist unwillingness to be corrupted by sinners (i.e. the rest of the world). It seems that the lineal descendants of the Nativist, "Know-Nothing," groups may yet inherit the nation. It would be better that we indeed had been the true melting pot, not made into one conglomerate nation, but educated to admire and respect each other's culture and with a real regard for each other's roots, to share and educate each other to the best in our respective cultures. An old Zen proverb says, "The finger pointing at the moon is not the moon." We could all point to our various faiths, sharing the best of them, but not demanding that anyone accept them in toto. American youth of the 60's may well have tried to teach us that with their dancing Hari Krishna's, Buddhist costumes and Zen prayers. We, like Chaucer's clerk, need to adopt a spirit that says, "gladly would he learn and gladly teach."

A-

Marge Ragona

The Second Great Awakening As An Organizing Process, 1780-1830

By Donald G. Matthews

Donald G. Matthews' thesis for this article is an excellent one: The spread of the churches (primarily Methodist and Baptist) throughout the American South and the nearby frontier acted not only to bring religion to individuals, but also was an organizing principle for the new nation, tending to unify and bring order to the people moving into more sparsely settled areas (away from the coast), and thus acting to make one nation through a shared experience, i.e. that of conversion.

Matthews contrasts this with a more classical view that the Second Great Awakening had to do with the breakdown of Calvinism and its attendant freeing of "creativity, energy and warmth."

Matthews points out that the Methodist system of organization through the use of circuit riding preachers and lay ministers (known as Exhorters -- although he does not use the term) as a kind of junior clergy-in-training who held small groups together while the preacher (with some formal training) rode the circuit of the small groups, teaching the Exhorters and laying the more formal groundwork for Methodist churches in the area to which he was assigned, was a system which brought not only religious organization to the frontier, but general organization. He further points out that the system of regional, state, and national Methodist conferences did much to unify the population of the new United States because it was a form of organization which cut across the state/colonial/backwoods/settled areas boundaries and tended to bind all of the citizenry to a single loyalty, i.e. God.

What the Second Great Awakening did, in effect, was to win the new nation to God (and not just incidentally to the church) through revivals which strove for conversion. Thus, in Matthews' term, "recruiting" new Christians by the tens of thousands. The effect upon the frontier was unlike that in any other nation with a frontier. In general, social historians often posit that large movements of people result in anomie. What Matthews is suggesting is that the anomic situation of the frontier became ordered through a familiar medium, the church, and people who would personally have been disorganized (emotionally, socially, etc.) received through the churches an ordering principle (faith, ethics, principles of behavior, etc.) which reduced the anomie and made the work of governing the colonies/states much easier than it would have been without such an organizing principle. While anomie is a term I have chosen, not Matthews, his thesis allows for that interpretation. He quotes Miyakawa, who states, "The churches were the most effective organizations of acculturation in the West, using their power through a kind of group therapy and social control to make normative the evangelical ideal of egalitarianism and the democratic prejudice of anti-intellectualism." My reading of that is that people who were left out (out of the Eastern Coast intellectualism and Predestinarian select) were now included in (into the evangelical churches and the Dominion of God). This would have far-reaching effects not only through the churches themselves, but through the benevolent organizations which they spawned and through the democratic organizations of the church providing a local training ground for secular leadership as well.

Social movements (including Christianity itself) are often the product of social strain (my term would be anomic situations) which disorients people, and the new churches promised "a positive outcome in an uncertain situation", according to Matthews, by

putting people in direct contact with God. Matthews alludes to, but does not further comment on the beneficial effect (or any other effect) upon the lives of women at this time. Sheila Rosencranz, a feminist writer, is working on a social history of women in Iowa during its frontier days, and points out that many, many frontier women suicided because of the loneliness and isolation from other women and the absence of contacts other than their own families (and possibly the brutality of the climate, times, women's living conditions, etc.). What the churches of the frontier in the Second Great Awakening did for women, also, was to provide a socializing aspect, not only for them, but for their fathers, husbands and sons as well. It did certainly provide social outlets (quilting bees, taffy pulls, missionary societies, etc.) as well as some intellectual outlet (Bible study, newsletters, newspapers, etc. of a religious, but also secular nature) and permitted a normalization of women's lives and the ability of women to engage in social reflection with other women. The churches undoubtedly led to the first feminist revolution (which began interestingly enough in 1830) by encouraging women leaders among other women, if not in the general leadership of the churches.

In all, Matthews' article certainly addresses itself to his thesis and strongly suggests that the role of the church was far more reaching than merely individual conversion in the Second Great Awakening.

A

In contrast to my remarks on previous papers, I find this one both well focussed and squarely on the issues addressed by the article, as well as going a step or two further.

putting people in direct contact with God. Matthews alludes to, but does not discuss, the beneficial effect (or any other effect) upon the lives of women at this time. Sheila Rowbotham, a feminist writer, in her book on a social history of women in Britain during the Industrial Revolution, points out that many female women enjoyed because of the loneliness and isolation from other women and the absence of contacts other than their own families (and possibly the brutality of the children). Thus, women's lives conditions, e.g.). What the overtones of the revolution in the Second Great Awakening did for women, also, was to provide a social life, not only for them, but for their families, friends and sons as well. It only certainly provide social outlets (quilting bees, tea parties, milkshake-ing e.g.) as well as some intellectual outlet (Bible study, newsletters, newspapers, etc. of a religious, but also secular nature) and provided a moral outlet of women's lives and the ability of women to engage in social interaction with other women. The otherness undoubtedly led to the first feminist revolution (which began interestingly enough in 1848) by encouraging women leaders among other women, if not in the general leadership of the movement.

In all, Matthews' article certainly addresses itself to his thesis and strongly suggests that the rise of the church was far more reflecting than merely in individual conversion in the Second Great Awakening.

# JEWS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

## OUTLINE

I. Beginnings

   A. Spain
      1. Columbus
      2. Inquisition

   B. Brazil
      1. Dutch rule
      2. Portugese rule

II. New World

   A. New Amsterdam
      1. Peter Stuyvesant
      2. Dutch West India Company

   B. English Rule
      1. Colonial period
         a. Burial ground
         b. Ritual - Sephardim and Ashkenazim
         c. Religious life

   C. Synagogues
      1. New York
      2. Newport
      3. Philadelphia
      4. Charleston
      5. Savannah

   D. Leaders
      1. Gershom Mendes Seixas
      2. Jonas Phillips
      3. Moses Levy
      4. Franks family
      5. Gratz family
      6. Judah Touro

## IMPORTANT DATES

| | |
|---|---|
| 1492 | The Jews are expelled from Spain; Columbus discovers America. Jews accompanied Columbus and other explorers on their expeditions, and the first Jew steps on American soil. |
| 1630-54 | A large Jewish community exists in Recife, Brazil. |
| 1654 | Sephardic Jews came to the United States; first settlement was at New Amsterdam (New York) by 23 refugees from Brazil; the first rabbi was Isaac Touro. |
| 1677 | A second Jewish community exists in Newport, Rhode Island. |
| 1686 | Jews granted right of public worship. |
| 1726 | William Penn welcomed Jews to Pennsylvania. |
| 1728 | First synagogue built on Mill Street, New York City. |
| 1730's and 1740's | Jewish congregations are established in Savannah, Georgia; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Charleston, South Carolina. |
| 1749 | The last date for the use of Portugese in the official records of Shearith Israel, synagogue of the Jewish community in New York. |
| 1763 | The synagogue of Newport, Rhode Island is dedicated - the only surviving synagogue building of the eighteenth century. |
| 1802 | The first synagogue following the Ashkenazic rite is established in Philadelphia. |

Colonial American Jewry: 1654 -1776

Dutch Period: 1654 - 1664

English Period: 1664 - 1776

# DOCUMENT DATES

1902 The Jews are expelled from Spain (Sephardic diaspora begins). Jews are expelled from England and subjected to their greatest persecutions, and the first Jews come to Russian soil.

1939-45 A large Nazi-Jewish concentration camp in Haifa, Israel.

1954 Population Jews come to the United States. First settlement was at New Amsterdam (now Dutch by 12 refugees from Brazil). The first synagogue was built.

1977 A second Jewish concentration camp in Bangkok, Israel.

1980 Jews granted right of public worship.

1726 Million Jews welcomed Jew to Newfoundland.

1728 First synagogue built in Jaffa Street, New York City.

1730's and 1740's Jewish communities are established in Savannah, Georgia, Philadelphia, Newport, Rhode Island, and Charleston, South Carolina.

1749 The last date for the use of Ferrugens in the middle seconds of Emperor Israel, synagogue of the Jewish community in New York.

1763 The synagogue of Newport, Rhode Island is dedicated - the only surviving synagogue building of the eighteenth century.

1802 The first area was following the Ashkenazic rite is erected that in Philadelphia.

Colonial Northern Jewry 1654 -1776

Dutch Period. 1654 - 1664

English Period. 1664 - 1776

Appendix A

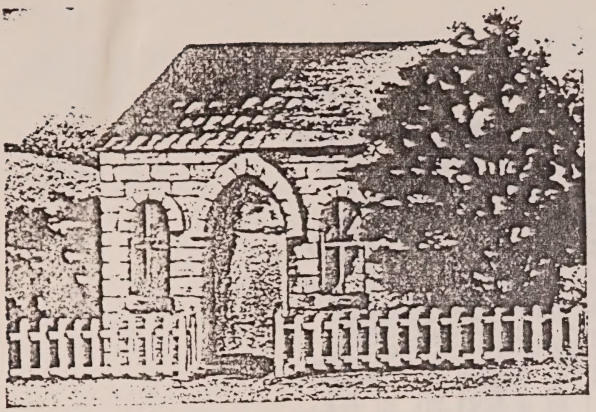
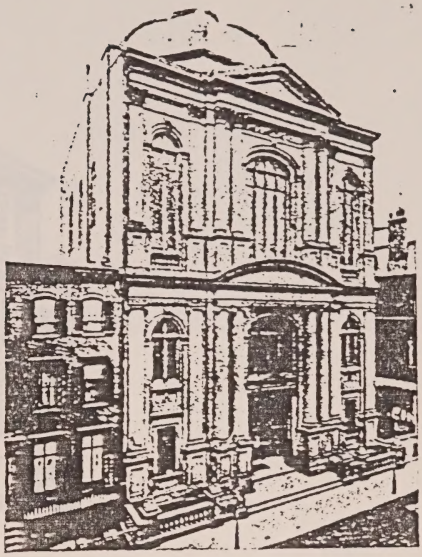


Figure 1 The Mill Street Synagogue
1730–1817



Shearith Israel's Nineteenth Street Synagogue
1860–1897

Figure 4

Figure 2 The burial ground off Chatham Square, the oldest Jewish cemetery in New York, established in 1682.

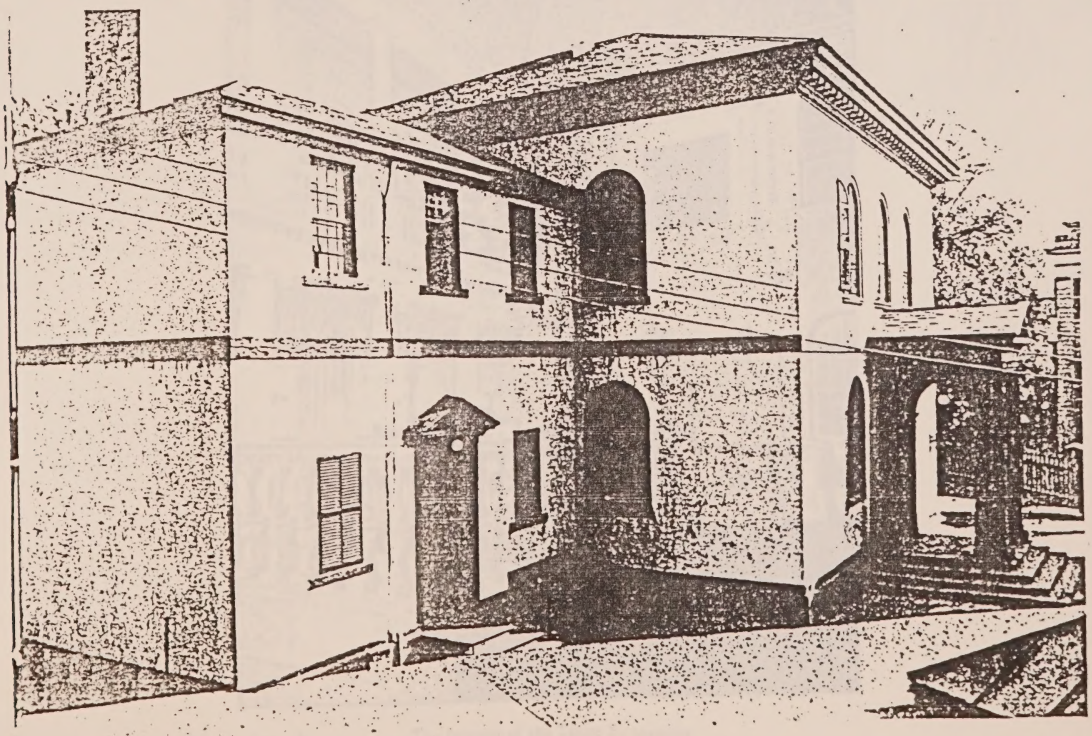


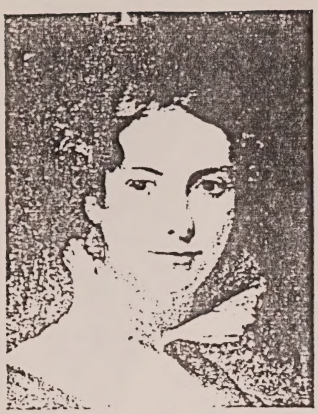
Figure 3 *Touro Synagogue, Providence, Rhode Island*

Appendix C

American Jewish Historical Society

Figure 1

*Judah Touro*



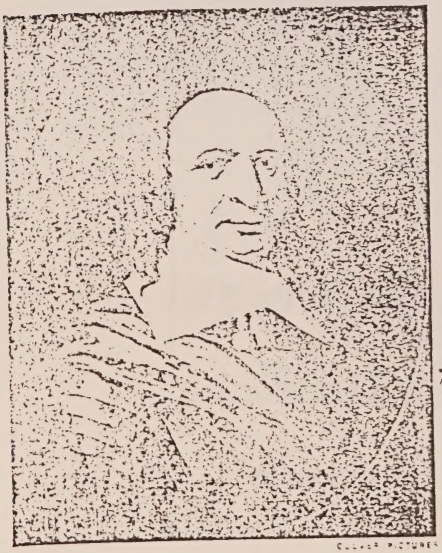
Frick Art Reference Library
Courtesy of Miss Henrietta Clay

Figure 2

*Rebecca Gratz*

Jacob Franks, American Colonial merchant. Oil painting by an unknown artist. From *Early American Jewish Portraiture*, New York, 1952.

Figure 3



Culver Pictures

Peter Stuyvesant, an engraving from Van Dyke portrait.

Figure 4

Jonas Phillips.

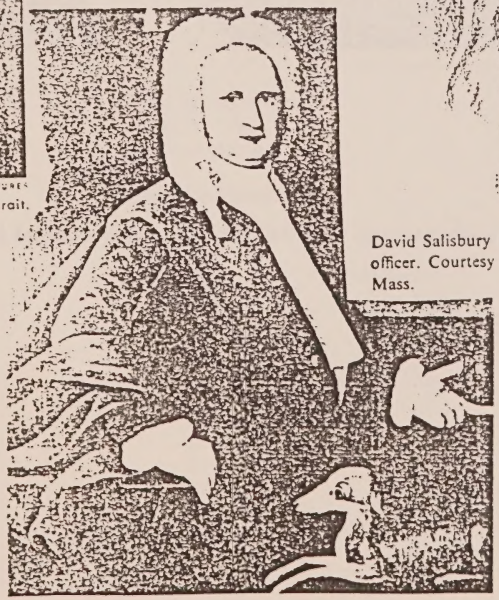
Figure 5

David Salisbury Franks, U.S. merchant and Revolutionary W officer. Courtesy American Jewish Historical Society, Waltha Mass.

Figure 6

Gershom Mendes Seixas

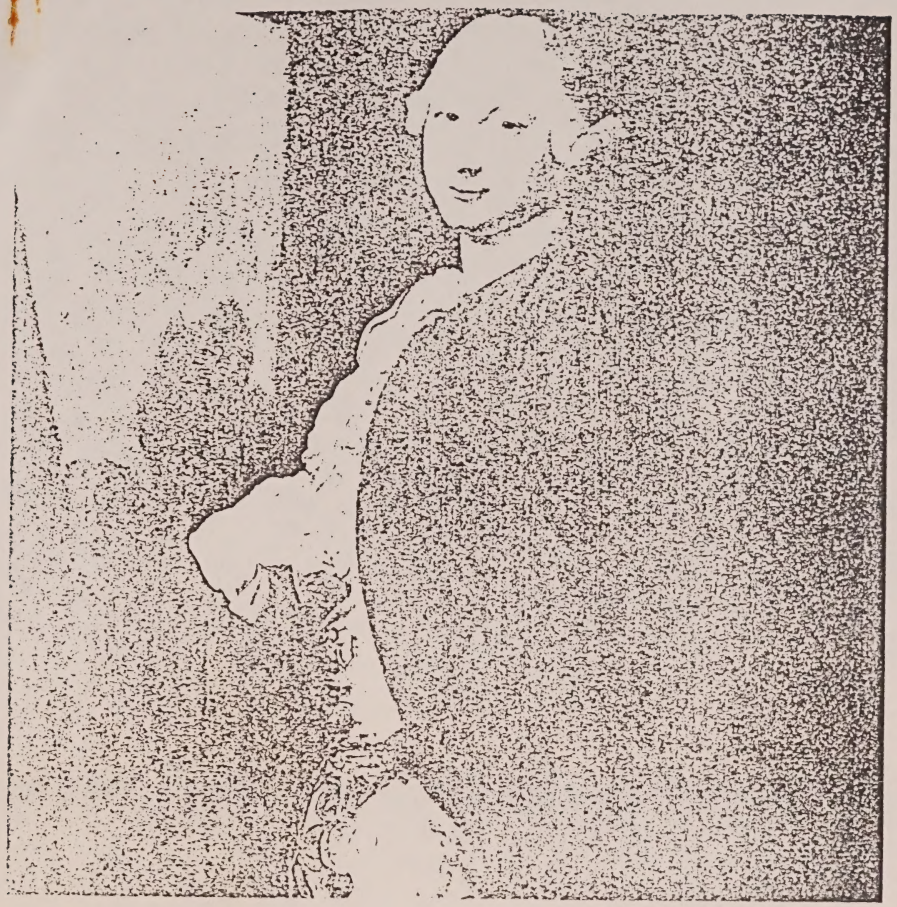
Figure 7



Moses Levy, colonial American merchant and landowner. Portrait by an unknown artist, oil on canvas, 45×36 in. (114×91 cm.). Waltham, Mass., American Jewish Historical Society. Gift of N. Taylor Phillips.

Figure 8

Appendix D



Courtesy of the United Hebrew Congregations and the Jewish Museum (London)

Figure 1

NAPHTALI FRANKS
(1715–1769)
*By Thomas Hudson*

JEWISH MINISTERS

A list of rabbis, lecturers and *hazzanim* holding office in New York City from the earliest times until 1860.[1]

| Name | Position | Synagogue | Term |
|---|---|---|---|
| Saul Brown[2] | Hazzan | Shearith Israel | ?–1682 |
| Abraham Haim de Lucena | " | " " | ?–1720 |
| Benjamin Wolf | " | " " | ? |
| Moses Lopez de Fonseca[3] | " | " " | 1728–1736 |
| David Mendes Machado | " | " " | 1737–1746 |
| Benjamin Pereira | " | " " | 1748–1756 |
| De Silva | " | " " | 1757 |
| Jeshurun Pinto | " | " " | 1758–1765 |
| Isaac Cohen De Silva | " | " " | 1766–1767 |
| Gershom Mendes Seixas | " | " " | 1768–1775<br>1784–1816 |
| Jacob Cohen | " | " " | During Revolutionary War |
| Isaac Touro | " | " " | " " |

Table 1

The Xtian Century Reader
Harned E. Fey & Margaret Drake
Assoc. Press, NY. 1962

*OPTIMISM: faith in the church's survival.*

February 18, 1915

## Has the Church Collapsed?

### *AN EDITORIAL*

An article in the January number of the Century Magazine affirms that the church has collapsed, that it is gradually losing its hold upon the community and sinking into helplessness in the face of the complex interests of modern life.

There has never been a time since the apostolic age when an observant critic could not make the same charge against the Christian society. The church has always been a gradually changing organism, and change to many minds implies decay. To see customs, practices and beliefs once held venerable and authoritative gradually losing their hold alike upon the church and its environment is no doubt disquieting to those who regard such things as a part of the fixed order of Christianity.

And just such lamentations have been voiced through all the centuries since the Master was among his people in the flesh. And such changes will always be experienced. They are as necessary in the church as in nature. The trees put away bark and leaves when they have served their purpose. Birds and beasts understand the laws of change and the discarding of outworn and useless belongings. These are signs, not of decay, but of growth.

We believe the church in the present generation is facing more difficult problems than ever before in its history. We believe that it is recognizing the futility of many of its former occupations and pronouncements. But that which is interpreted by some of its critics as disintegration is merely the attempt which good and wise Christians make to adjust themselves to a changing social order and to discard useless materials in the

effort. We believe that the church has some distance yet to go in this seemingly destructive process. But it is only to make way for a more efficient response to the world's need. The only discouraging sign of the times is the refusal of some parts of the church to meet the demands of the changed conditions. Wherever the church depends upon ancient forms and formulas for its influence over society, it must fail. It is only a genuine and timely contact with the living needs of the world today that can give it the influence it craves.

The best proof of the vitality of Christianity is its constant readjustment to the most outstanding needs of the time. The astonishing thing about the church today is its new activities, easily planned to touch the social order at the points most critical and needed. It is the mark of a living organism that it thus adjusts itself to new conditions and puts forth new organs when there is need. Never was this so true of the church as today, and in spite of all deficiencies, which are numerous enough, the church was never rendering a more timely and effective service than at the present moment.

*PASTOR OF A DETROIT CHURCH and one of the Century's then contributing editors, the man who later was to become world famed as a theologian and as an analyst of the social and political order warned in 1926 against ecclesiastical and cultural shortcomings which a generation later were to be widely and ruefully acknowledged.*

April 22, 1926

## Our Secularized Civilization

### *REINHOLD NIEBUHR*

Unqualified optimism on the present state or future prospect of religion in modern civilization can emanate only from a very superficial analysis of modern life. In America such



optimism is justified by the undeniable prestige of the church in the popular mind and the vitality of the institutions of religion. In Europe optimism is not even supported by these facts. Yet America is in many respects more pagan than Europe, which means that the vitality of the institutions of religion is not in itself a proof of authentic religious life. The fact is that we are living in a completely secularized civilization which has lost the art of bringing its dominant motives under any kind of moral control.

Recent events in Europe reveal what unrepentant tribalists Western people are and how little they have learned from the great tragedy. They seem to lack both the imagination to realize the folly of their ways and the humility to conceive of their folly as sin. While we in America affect to pity Europe, the sense of moral superiority, which is always the root of pity, is based on illusion. We are no more moral than Europe, but our tremendous wealth and our comparative geographic isolation save us from suffering any immediate consequences of our moral follies. However active the institutions of religion may be in our national life, there is no trace of ethical motive in our national conduct. To the world we appear, what we really are, a fabulously wealthy nation, intent upon producing more wealth and seemingly oblivious to the consequences which unrestrained lust of power and lust of gain must inevitably have on both personal morality and international harmony.

The fact is that the social life of the Western world is almost completely outside of ethical control. A political leader of Gandhi's type would be unthinkable in the Western world. While it may be true that all groups are naturally predatory and have never been effectually restrained by moral scruples, yet there is a measure of indifference to and defiance of moral law in our modern world which compares unfavorably with the best in either our own or oriental history. The fact is that we are living in a completely secularized civilization.

The secularization of modern civilization is partly due to our inability to adjust the ethical and spiritual interests of mankind to the rapid advance of the physical sciences. How-

# THE SOCIAL GOSPEL AND WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH

Marjorie F. Ragona

Springhill College

Mobile, Alabama

April 14, 1987

A

Fascinating topic and well constructed research paper.

Marjorie Ragona
History of Religion in America
Fr. Viscardi

# THE SOCIAL GOSPEL AND WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH

Each Sunday, somewhere in the South, a Fundamentalist preacher will rise and compare the sacred gospel of individual salvation disparagingly with the "social gospel," and call for loud amens that the social gospel is the end of faith, the end of true religion, and the end of anyone who is mistaken enough to think that changing society can make any impact on the souls of men. Most Fundamentalists are unable to state exactly what the social gospel is, but they know that whatever it is, it is an evil thing.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify what the social gospel is, how it began and what its intent was. Some attempt will be made to understand why it did not reach the South, and why the South might remain against the ideals which the social gospel taught. Additionally, the theological descendants of the social gospel will be touched on, although that is not the purpose of this paper.

## Definition of the Social Gospel

The social gospel was that movement in American Protestantism, beginning in the 1870s, that endeavored to answer the challenges presented by the abuses of industrialism. Reinhold Niebuhr defined the social gospel as highlighting a shift away from the older, individualistic, conversion-oriented evangelism to a new corporate concern for the social problems of the modern world. This involved a movement away from questions relating to personal ethics -- profanity, drunkenness, sexuality and the like -- to a primary concern for social ethics -- fair wages, unemployment, child labor, welfare and urban slums. The term gospel was retained because the Protestant supporters of the movement still believed the teachings of Jesus formed the central core of religious faith...concern for

individual salvation was not denied, but that concern was to be related inextricably to larger questions concerning the humanization and transformation of society (Johnson & Wallwork, 180).

The term "social gospel" derives from a magazine of that name, published by the Christian Commonwealth Community from 1897 to 1900, although earlier the same theological beliefs had been labelled "social Christianity" (Bauer, 475).

Historical Overview -- What the Social Gospel Attempted to Address

From 1870 to 1920, the United States was in the midst of both boom and bust. The entire western world was in the middle of a shift to concentrated industrialization, and the United States was in the middle of one of the largest migrations of people known to history. In the 20 year period from 1880 to 1900, over 5 million people would come through Castle Garden, the debarking point for immigrants in New York; however, Boston, Baltimore, and New Orleans were also taking in immigrants (Riis, 230). The factories, mills, and mines were in need of cheap, unskilled labor. "Searching for it, agents of Carnegie and Frick combed the villages of the old world, luring the peasants of Hungary, Slovakia and Poland to the mills and mines of Pittsburgh"[and other large cities]. Those who responded signed contracts (not until 1885 did Congress outlaw the contract labor system) that secured many their passage. Carnegie placed a value of $1800 on each adult, because "in former days, an efficient slave sold for that sum" (Klein and Kantor, 182). While many of the earlier immigrants were farmers and farm land had been both available and cheap, this group of immigrants faced very different conditions. They congregated in the cities for a variety of reasons. Some viewed factory work as only a way station to a plot of land on the western frontier, but financial hardships kept immigrants in the factory longer than they expected. To put a 16-acre farm into production required an average investment of $1500. Few newcomers could accumulate that much capital on a daily wage of

individual salvation was not denied, but that concern was to be subsumed intractably to larger questions concerning the humanization and transformation of society (Johnson & Wallace, 1901).

The term "social gospel" derives from a magazine of that name, published by the Christian Commonwealth Community from 1897 to 1900, although earlier the same theological beliefs had been labelled "social Christianity" (Bauer, 4?3).

<u>Historical overview -- what the Social Gospel attempted in Southern</u>

From 1870 to 1920, the United States was in the midst of both boom and bust. The entire western world was in the middle of a shift to concentration, industrialization, and the United States was in the middle of one of the largest migrations of people known to history. In the 20 year period from 1880 to 1900 over 5 million people would come through Castle Garden, the dominant point of immigrants in New York; however, Boston, Baltimore, and New Orleans were also seeing in immigrants (Mills, 230). The factories, mills, and mines were in need of cheap, unskilled labor. "Searching for it, agents of farmers and of life came to the villages of the old world, luring the peasants of Hungary, Slovakia and Poland to the mills and mines of Pittsburgh"[and other large cities]. These were recommended stewed contracts that until 1885 did compress solely the contract labor system that secured many their passage. Campaigns placed a value of $1000 on each adult, because "in former days, an efficient slave sold for that sum" (Mills and Kaster, 102). While many of the earlier immigrants were farmers and farm land had been both available and cheap, this group of immigrants faced very different conditions. They congregated in the cities for a variety of reasons. Some viewed factory work as only a way station to a plot of land on the western "frontier", but financial hardships kept many in the factory longer than they expected. To put a 15-acre farm into production required an average investment of $1500. Few newcomers could accumulate that much capital on a daily wage of

$1.50 and none could do it very quickly (Klein and Kantor, 183).

From 1870 to 1900, the industrial revolution radically altered American life. "Revolution" was not too strong a word for the changes in transportation (the steam engine, combustion engine, electric engine), communication (telegraph, telephone, transatlantic cable, wireless, linotype presses, etc.) and domestic life (electric light, and many items newly electrified, sewing machines, and entertainment dependent upon electricity (phonographs, etc.). The greatest revolution, of course, was in the labor market itself, where thousands of propertyless men [women and children] traded only their skills and sweat for inadequate livelihoods (Gaustad, 227). Industrialization meant a migration not only from [redacted] Europe to the United States, but also from the farm to the city. Part of the reason was that there was a drop in produce prices by more than a third from 1873 to 1896, occasioned mainly by the increasing mechanization of farms and the ability of large landholders and wealthy farmers to invest in machinery that began to drive many marginal farmers from the land to the mills and mines (Holland, 283). In 1820 70% of Americans were agricultural workers, by 1920 only 27% were; and by 1920, 81% of Americans worked for some employer.

The movement toward industrialization came at a high cost, paid mainly by the workers. They were poorly paid, badly housed, malnourished, and often very ill. It was a time when garment workers were employed in "sweat shops" where, for example, 8 people (5 men, a woman, a boy and a girl, each about 15) could turn out 120 dozen pairs of boys knickers [knee pants]. Their profit was $.05 per dozen; all of them working from dawn to 9 p.m. plus renting out six sewing machines at $2.00 a month, made $25.00 a week. They did this in a two-room apartment for which they paid $20.00 a month, and the family of 6 and its two boarders lived on $8.00 a week for food. Additionally, they had to pay for their own coal (10 cents for a small pail) and electricity, if they had it. It

was no wonder that New York could advertise that it could "beat the world on cheap clothing" (Riis, 92-93). Other workers fared as poorly, even highly skilled workers, like cigar makers. A husband and wife team could turn out 3,000 cigars a week; they were paid $3.75 a thousand. Their rooms were only $11.75-12.00 a month. If their child worked with them, they could turn out 4000 weekly, and live quite comfortably; they worked only 17 hours a day, however, to live this well (Riis, 107-108). Women were at work outside the home in relatively large numbers, over 150,000 of them in New York alone. Cash girls in department stores earned $2.00 a week, worked a 16-hour day, were supposed to be over 14, but most were younger. The average grown woman made $3.00 to $4.00 a week, paid $1.50 for indecent quarters, and ate her lunch out (her one decent meal of the day) for $.65 a week. She did not have cooking facilities where she lived (Riis, 178). A woman making paper bags at home made 35 cents a day, or $10.00 a month, and paid $4.00 a month for a room. Grown men made $12.00 a week in 1912, unloading coffee from ships in downtown New York (Williams). None of this was enough to feed, clothe, and warm a family, and the American wage earner "slid downward into that abyss of misery and despair once reserved for the working classes of England. There developed an implacable hostility between labor and capital, which soon found expression in outright rebellion and attempts to organize unions. Not even skilled workers escaped the impact of the factory system, for often, like the weavers, they found themselves displaced by machines which did their work more cheaply and efficiently. The overall result was intense economic and social dislocation, and a future characterized by strife and bitterness. The triumph of the factory demonstrated convincingly that the price of economic progress was too often paid in the coin of social instability and upheaval. And, in the long run, the price proved steeper than anyone suspected" (Klein and Kantor, 16).

In the period from 1850 to 1920, there were two major depressions, the first lasting from 1873 to 1879, and the second from 1893 to 1897. The waves of immigrants from abroad and from the farms, coupled with an increasing use of women and children, created a labor pool (often a surplus) that drove wages even lower. Recurring cycles of recession and depression threw thousands of people out of work. Age, sickness, or simple prejudice on the part of a supervisor was enough to cost a person his job without warning. All of these factors combined to undermine the bargaining position of the individual worker and to demoralize the working class as a whole (Klein and Kantor, 61). There were strikes, and major violence in most industrial cities; eight railroad strikes occurred in 20 years, there was a coal strike in 1902. Textile mill strikes in Lowell, Massachusetts and Patterson, New Jersey caused the death of some and injury to many. Factories hired Pinkerton (private) police to protect their embattled plants, and the workers and the Pinkerton guards slaughtered each other. Two Presidents of the United States were killed, James Garfield and William McKinley. The poor marched on Washington in the form of Coxey's army in 1893. Even the farmers struck [Grange strikes] in the 1870s and 1890s. The poor blamed the wealthy and the wealthy blamed the poor for the condition of the country. Almost everyone blamed the immigrants. The great preacher, Henry Ward Beecher stated sermonically that "God has intended the great to be great and the little to be little." A dollar a day would not "support a man and five children if a man would insist on smoking and drinking beer." He continued, "the man who cannot live on bread and water is not fit to live." He further expounded,"There may be reasons of poverty which do not involve wrong; but looking comprehensively through city and town and village and country, the general truth will stand that no man in this land suffers from poverty unless it be more than his fault -- unless it be his sin" (Klein and Kantor, 288). Beecher may have been right, but so were the workers. In 20 years, railroad workers wages

went from $550 to $580 a year, an increase of 5%. The owners profits went from $377,000,000 to $610,000,000, an increase of 62%. Giant trusts devoured small companies wholesale. Over 300 companies disappeared each year; in 1899 alone, over 1,000 companies vanished. Only 440 trusts, with an aggregate capitalization of $20,400,000,000 (billions of dollars) controlled 8,664 plants, transportation lines, and utility franchises. The 7 largest companies, capitalized at $2,700,000,000 controlled 1,528 plants (U.S. Steel, Standard Oil, American Sugar Refining, Amalgamated Copper, American Smelting and Refining, Consolidated Tobacco, and International Mercantile Marine). The Vanderbilt, Morgan-Hill, Gould-Rockefeller, Moore, and Harriman-Kuhn and Loeb groups owned $9,000,000,000 of 790 railway lines. No worker could attempt to seek justice from such huge companies, and in the end many turned to violence. "This enormous concentration of economic power and political influence within the private sector, coupled with the separation of power from social responsibility, threw the entire social system out of balance." No area of American life escaped its demoralizing effect. So shattering was its impact that many thoughtful Americans feared for the future of the Republic. Grim visions of apocalypse surfaced everywhere. The traditional American attitudes of optimism and faith in progress continued...but for the first time they were joined by a serious counterpoint of pessimism and despair. "Beneath the swelling tide of material progress, there ran a powerful undertow of confusion and dislocation, a sense society was changing too rapidly, careening down an unknown road toward an uncertain destiny with no clear way of restraining its pace or deflecting its course." Woodrow Wilson spoke out clearly, stating, "The truth is, we are all caught in a great economic system which is heartless" (Klein and Kantor, 55-56).

As Americans struggled to adjust to industrialization, the church battled to maintain its influence on their lives. Social, economic, and political upheaval,

however, dominated the years from 1875 to 1915, and class consciousness permeated attitudes and actions so that Reinhold Niebuhr stated that the conscious and often unconscious "ethical outlook of members of given classes is invariably closed, if not determined, by the unique economic circumstances which each class has as a common possession. Any class, therefore, that assumes its values alone are correct is self-deceived" (Johnson and Wallwork). Christian leaders encountered increasing difficulty in persuading people to look to the church for leadership. The poor grew more and more wretched, the wealthy grew greedier. The deprived looked for aid and comfort from the pulpit; the rich demanded loyalty to the gospel of wealth from their preachers (Holland, 282). Aside from the immigrant churches, such as the Roman Catholics, the pulpit extended little support to labor. When labor disputes burst into violence, the pulpits rang with bitter denunciations of those unwilling to accept "their station in life." Some ministers called for the Gatling Gun to be used indiscriminately against those who would upset the status quo with their demands for higher wages. In fact, something of a national crusade was aroused by the Grange revolt, the Railway Strike of 1877, the Haymarket Riot, and church newspapers and magazines called for bullets and bayonets to be used against those making public protest against low wages (Holland, 283). Andrew Carnegie, in particular, viewed his life as the essence of the American experience, saw in his rise to wealth the possibility for <u>every man</u> to succeed, and took great pains to "weave the loose fabric of his success saga into a social philosophy" (Klein and Kantor, 234). "The duty of the man of wealth," he said, "is to produce the most beneficial results for the community -- the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves" (Klein and Kantor, 237). Carnegie's employees were as poorly paid as everyone else's. Workers continued to see their

families hungry and ill-clothed, while the wealthy spoke of a healthy economy. As the gulf widened between the poor and the wealthy, ministers of the gospel searched for a way to give spiritual guidance that would avoid social disruption.

The city itself was blamed for its own ills. Protestant Christians have always had a love-hate relationship with cities. An enormous nostalgia for the simple, agrarian life colors any attempt to make sense of what was happening to the cities. The small town of the south and the midwest seem to Americans the best example of life in the 1890s, and it is deemed best to ignore that period riddled with social dislocation, strikes, war, seething discontent among all classes and the worst depression experienced by Americans up to that time, which has somehow been translated as the "Gay Nineties." Josiah Strong said, "The city has become a serious menace to our civilization because in it dangers are enhanced and focalized. It has a peculiar attraction for the immigrant. Because our cities are so largely foreign, Romanism finds in them its chief strength. For the same reason, the saloons, together with the intemperance and the liquor power which it represents is multiplied in the city" (Klein and Kantor, 192). "Immigration, urbanization, and industrialization heightened the city's ills and multiplied the symptoms. For the sores of the city, the immigrant was held responsible; for the fevers of the factory, the city received blame. So complex were the ultimate causes that enemies of the city or the factory or the immigrant seized their chance to single out a scapegoat for all social disorder." Jacob Riis, an immigrant himself, tried to awaken sympathy (which he had little of himself) for the tenement dweller, "Today, three-fourths of its people dwell in tenements, and the 19th century drift of the population is sending ever-increasing multitudes to crowd them. The 15,000 tenant houses that were

the despair of the sanitarian in the past generation have swelled to 37,000 and more than 1,200,000 call them home" (Riis, 3). He then describes situation after situation, one worse than the last, of living conditions in the city. One had 5 families, 20 persons of both sexes and all ages, living in one room with no partition, screen, chair or table. There were hogs in the cellar, and 8-10 truck loads of manure with the hogs. A Baptist church in Mulberry Street (Little Italy/Chinatown) had been sold and the rear half converted to tenements. Forty families lived there. The death rate was 75 in 1,000. The average space, per person was less than 2 square yards apiece. 70-80 children were found living in one tenement building. There were 290,000 people living to the square mile, second only to Calcutta, and twice the density of London. In New York's Lower East Side, the density was 330,000 per square mile. In a cholera epidemic, the tenement dwellers died at the rate of 197 per 1,000. The mortality rate in the city doubled from 1855 to 1900. (Riis, 7-8). New York was not alone, however, Philadelphia had 30 tenements on a block, 55 families, 253 individuals of all ages living in them; there was not one privy (Klein and Kantor, 298). Someone, however, was making money from all this. In N.Y. There were 14,000 homeless men, each housed at 7 to 10 cents a night, for 5,121,659 separate lodgings in a year. The earnings were $358,516 (Riis, 27).

Without the foregoing, any attempt to describe what Walter Rauschenbusch faced when he came to New York would have been impossible.

The Social Gospel and Walter Rauschenbusch

Walter Rauschenbusch was 25 years old, fresh from seminary in Rochester, N.Y., his home town, and from two summer interim pastorates in Louisville, Kentucky. He was American Baptist, and became the pastor of the Second German Baptist Church in the Clinton section of New York. Clinton is better known as "Hell's

Kitchen." It has a long history of battles between warring gangs belonging to disparate national groups -- Italians and Germans, for example. It was, in Rauschenbusch's time, a neighborhood of tenements, saloons, and abattoirs. It still is. Today it is home for starving actors, junkies, and various out-of-work and out-of-pocket folks. It is the sort of neighborhood that old Jimmy Cagney gangster movies were set in. It is the district between the restaurants and theaters of the entertainment district and the river. It was graced in Rauschenbusch's time with an elevated train that ran along 9th Avenue and by an enormous gas storage tank, hence the Cagney title "The Gashouse Gang." There were great storage warehouses along the waterfront, many of the employed in the area worked as longshoremen, and it never had a good reputation. Walter Rauschenbusch arrived with dreams of being of service to the people of the area. In Hell's Kitchen, whiskey sold for 3 cents a glass, and you got a free lunch with it. The churches would have had to work hard to compete with that.

Jacob Riis talked of the churches in the city. The Children's Aid Society asked two of its little charges had they ever been to church or Sunday School. No, they had never had clothes to wear to church, and they only knew the name of Jesus by hearing people swear by it. Christians in the south and midwest were sending missionaries -- 107 of them, in one case, far away. They spent $60,000 and one year to convert one little child (Riis, 138-139). Walter Rauschenbusch felt called to serve the people of Hell's Kitchen through the Amity School of Theology, a school of ministry which he and two friends began to teach lay people to minister in the area. The budget was $4,000 a year. It was funded by his friend Leighton Williams' mother. St. George's Episcopal Church, a wealthy church on the other side of town had an annual budget of $60,000 for inner city work; J.P. Morgan was a member there (Hudson, 1984).

Rauschenbusch did not come to his mission alone. He and two friends, also pastors in the area, agreed that they would all succeed better, if they supported each other's work. They founded an organization which they called, "The Brotherhood of the Kingdom." In a small pamphlet, "The Spirit and Aims of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom," Rauschenbusch and his friends, Leighton Williams and Nathaniel Schmidt, set forth their aims. "We desire to see the Kingdom of God once more the great object of Christian preaching; the inspiration of Christian hymnology, the foundation of systematic theology, the enduring motive of evangelistic and missionary work; the religious inspiration of social work...the object to which a Christian surrenders his life; the common object in which all religious bodies find their unity; the great synthesis in which the regeneration of the spirit...and all that concerns the redemption of humanity shall be embraced. To this task, God helping us, we desire to dedicate our lives" (Hudson, 1984). The "Brotherhood" also began a newsletter For the Right which was intended for their neighborhood people. It failed to reach the working class readers, the circulation being confined to a small group of sympathetic middle-class Protestants. Its two faults were the patronizing attitude of its young editors (25, 25 and 32), and while it was intended for working class women, it tended to talk down to them, and try to present them with middle class models, inappropriate for them (Hudson, 1984).

Rauschenbusch seemed to be the writer of the group, although not its chief theorist. However, he was given the task of putting into print the discussions held by the various members. Either collectively or alone, Rauschenbusch and the Brotherhood did seem to have an understanding of the world they lived in and of the causality of its problems.

On the farm problems, Rauschenbusch said, "As land grows dear, it will become harder for a young man without capital to secure his first foothold. He will have to mortgage himself heavily or become a tenant. Our farmers will become peasants...As the monopoly value of farm-land increases, it will be a more profitable form of investment for the huge industrial capital anxiously seeking investment...In time, we will have three layers of population on the land, the great proprietor,the tenant farmer, and the agricultural laborer (Rauschenbusch, 1907, 225).

As Riis did, he agreed that land speculation was what kept the city congested. Riis said, "More than half the tenements with two-thirds of their population was held by owners who made the keeping of them a business, generally a speculation. The owner was seeking a certain percentage on his outlay and that percentage rarely fell below 15% and frequently exceeded 30. (40% was declared by witnesses before a Senate committee to be a fair interest on tenement property. Instances were given of its being one hundred per cent and over.)(Riis, 3-4). Rauschenbusch stated, "The naturally high price of city land is further enhanced by the artificial pressure of speculation. Around our cities lies a ring of unused land held with the hope of a rise. The growing population either has to pay the price demanded or crowd closer inside of the ring, or use its money and its precious time in travelling daily beyond the ring."(Rauschenbusch, 1907, 227).

Rauschenbusch talked to and about the church: "When the church says, 'Repent and be like me' there is little in her teaching or example that is sufficient to convict people of sin and summon them to repentence...the church lacks an ethical imperative which can induce repentence"(Hudson, 32).

Most inner city churches, usually the "First Church" found themselves suddenly stranded in a sea of foreign newcomers. Their once-nearby congregations which formed a close-knit community in pre-industrial times, had moved to to suburbs abandoning their ministers and bulding to a neighborhood now filled with businesses and tenements. Most middle-class clergy, ill-equipped to deal with uprooted natives or foreigners turned their empty halls into a fortress and bewailed the loss of once-happy surroundings. Some attempted to turn their facilities into the leading "cathedrals" of the denomination, replete with fine music, distinguished clergy, and an elite congregation. Large downtown churches came to represent a closed society to most new urbanites and in a few cases, most notably Trinity Church in New York, incited antagonisms by becoming owners of slum property (Klein and Kantor, 272). Rauschenbusch spoke to those churches: "The church is rendering some service today in opposing child labor and the sweat shop system, but its conscience has not at all been awakened by the wages system as a whole, on which our industry rests...it has accepted as inevitable the general social system under which the world was living at the time and has not undertaken any thoroughgoing social reconstruction in accordance with Christian principles"(Rauschenbusch, 1907,149-150). Speaking about the tenement areas, which he knew well, he said, "The tenement districts of our great cities are miasmic swamps of bad air and just as swamps team with fungous growths, so the bacilli of tuberculosis multiply on the rotting lungs of the underfed and densely housed multitudes...The preventable decimation of the people is social murder"(Rauschenbusch, 1907, 240).

He talked of the exploitation of workers in this way, "From the beginning until now, man has divided his fellows into those who were to be fed and, figuratively at least, those who were to be eaten (Rauschenbusch, 1907, 213). He decried the industrial revolution which made it impossible for workers ever to move upward by

their own ability and craftsmenship, for these were not guildsmen with their own tools and locations, but wage slaves who worked for the owners of the machinery and who could never earn enough to buy an equivalent machine. The owners of such equipment could produce in such large quantities and undercut prices in such a way that independent crafters could not possibly compete, and the machine "was driven through the framework of the social structure"(Rauschenbusch, 1907, 215).

The Theology of Walter Rauschenbusch

Rauschenbusch tied his theology to two themes, the "social justice" prophets and the Kingdom of God. He spoke of the prophets: "Our prophetic books contain constant references to the false prophets. These were not the preachers of idolatrous religion...nor were they conscious liars. They were the mouthpiece of the average popular opinions and they drew their inspiration from the self-satisfied patriotism which seemed so very identical with trust in Jehovah and the sanctuary. The false prophets corresponded to those modern preachers who act as eulogists of existing conditions, not because they desire to deceive the people, but because they are really so charmed with things as they are and have never had a vision from God to shake their illusion...The time may come in our own country when the smiling optimists will be the most frightened and helpless of all, and when the present "pessimists" will be the only ones who have any hopes to cheer and any clear convictions to guide"(Rauschenbusch, 1907, 39). His vision was that of Isaiah and Micah, "Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah and bow myself before the high God. Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves a year old? Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgressions, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed you, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly,

and to love kindness and to walk humbly with thy God. (Micah 6:6-8). And, "Your hands are full of blood. Wash you! Make you clean! Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes! Cease to do evil! Learn to do right! Seek justice! Secure justice for the orphaned and plead for the widow." (Isaiah 1:10 17) (Rauschenbusch, 1907, 5-6).

Like many others, Rauschenbusch was convinced that as America's social disorder mounted, the basic illness was public and not private. Salvation of souls was commendable, but salvation of the system was imperative (Gaustad, 240). Was religion relevant to the economic, the social, the political crisis? Could physicians cure sickness of race,class, slum? Was there any balm in Gilead? A healing ministry was offered to American society through two contrasting, (but contradictory) remedies; one for the individual; the other for the social structures themselves (Gaustad, 228). What was being offered was mass evangelism (which was truly aimed at the burgeoning middle class and the displaced farmers, now living in industrial cities) and the social gospel (ostensibly directed toward/for the poor, but actually to the middle class also). Revivalism seemed the perfect answer to the new urban condition. "Transplanted rural folk...welcomed it as a buffer against the unfamiliar city scene...it provided a feeling of continuity with the past religious experience. The clergy favored revivalism because it seemed a logical approach for saving souls in the "city wilderness" as it had on the frontier. The revival brought diverse peoples together in a common bond" (Klein and Kantor, 273). But Rauschenbusch wanted more than just a conversion experience. He said, "We differ from many Christian men and women in our insistence on good institutions. They believe if only men were converted, wrong and injustice will gradually disappear from the construction of society. It does not appear so to us. Revivals in the South were not directly followed by a general freeing of the slaves. Revivals in the

North do not ease the pressure of competition in a community or stop speculation in land...We raise the charge of negligence and sloth against the church of God in suffering injustice to be incorporated in the very construction of society" (From For The Right, August 1890) (Hudson, 60). Again, "The gospel, to have power over an age, must be the highest expression of the moral and religious truths held by that age. If it lags behind or presents outgrown conceptions of life and duty, it is no longer in the full sense the gospel. Christianity itself lifts the minds of men to demand a better expression of Christianity. If the official wardens of the Gospel refuse to let the spirit of Christ flow into the lower vessels of thought and feeling which God himself had prepared for it, they are warned by finding men turn from their message as sapless and powerless. (Hudson, 30-31). And yet again, "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool," "Isaiah describes the national kingdom of Judah and its devastation and ridicules the attempt to appease the national God by redoubled sacrifices; he urges instead the abolition of social oppression and injustice as the only way of regaining God's favor for the nation. If they would vindicate the cause of the helpless and oppressed, then God would freely pardon; their their scarlet and common guilt would be washed away...of course the test is nobly true when it is made to express God's willingness to pardon the repentent individual, but that was not the thought of the writer. He offered a new start to his nation on condition that it righted social wrongs; we offer free pardon to individuals and rarely mention social wrongs" (Rauschenbusch, 1907, 11).

It was just such statements, with all of the implications for the South, and the demand for justice and the cessation of oppression that made the social gospel so a anethema to the South. In 1897, the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision permitted the

Jim Crow seating in public transportation and the "separate but equal" facilities for education. The south could not accept both in the same time period, and has feared the implications of the social gospel ever since. Personal salvation was a whole lot safer, and is a whole lot safer to deal with even today. To look at the gospel in any other way is far too dangerous for the ordinary southern mind.

Rauschenbusch not only disparaged the attempts at revivalism in the cities, but also was questioning about millenialism. He said, "Faith in catastrophes worked by the Lord, discourages action entirely" (Hudson, 94). He also compared millenialism with monasticism: "Millenialism shares the despair of monasticism without braving its self-denials. It cultivates the attitude of separation while mingling with the world and the consequence is frequently a life in two sections, the one expecting the Lord, the other conformed to the laws of the world. Millinarians have themselves helped to make true their assertion that the world cannot be changed. They have been the section of the church which has held the belief in the renewal of social life but, by denying its present possibility, they have turned away the force of Christianity from its task, and then they say, 'There, you see, we told you it could not be done.'" (Hudson, 92-93). While the south accused him of being an evolutionist, Rauschenbusch corrected them: "However evolution may work in the rest of creation, a new element enters in when it reaches the ethical nature of man. Ethically man sags downward by nature. It is ever easy to follow temptation and hard to resist it. The way that leads to destruction is always broad and its asphalt pavement is kept in perfect order, with toboggan slides at either side for those who prefer a steeper grade. Let us not be beguiled by that seductive devil who tells us that man will walk into the millenium, if only you will point out to him where the

I'm from working in mental retardation and the "academic out-patient" facilities for education. The school could not accept both, in the case of the mentally, and had forced the hospitalization of the mental every since. Personal rehabilitation was a luxury for some, and it is a whole lot rather than with even cancer. To look at the layout in one other way is for one to see the secondary centrifugal worst.

Rehabilitation not only allows one the attempts at realization in the existence, but also one questioned about utilization. As said, "Faith is contingent upon by the-ness, otherwise one acting merely" (Gideon, 94). He also compared utilization with consciousness: "Utilization shows the despair of consciousness without bearing its self-denial". It covers the utilization of reason, on what minding with the world and the consequence is transcendy a life in the realness, the one constituting the land, the other concerned in the two on the world. Militarians have themselves behind to make free their existing, that the world cannot be changed. They have been the victim of the contradicts and held the belief in the renewal of social life but, by denying the present possibility, they have turned away the force of civilization from its task, and then they say, "Therefore, you see, we told you it could not be done." (Gideon, 95-96). With the state accused him of being an evolutionist. Transcendentalism reduced that. Therefore evolution may work in the fact of creation, a day without work or even it requires the ethical nature of man. Reality was only determined by reason. It is ever easy to follow tendencies and born to realist it. The non-real leads to accentuation is always broad and its accessible presence is that an indirect order, with technique aliens as either a-lea for there one fraction a-lienure grade. Can we not be negated by that subjective dual, one notice in that we will work into the situation, if only we will decide out to him where the

millenium is and clear away the worst obstacles for him. Man was never built that way. If he is to get in, he will have to be lifted in!" (Rauschenbusch, The Watchman, 24, November and December, 1892) (Hudson, 1984).

The central core of Rauschenbusch's theology is his view of the Kingdom of God. Rauschenbusch saw the Kingdom as the elevation of human personality, an escape from bigotry, oppression, oligarchy, and monopoly toward a 'reign of love' that tends toward the progressive unity of mankind. The Kingdom of God 'embraces the whole of human life for it is nothing less than the transfiguration of the social order'" (Gaustad, 252). On another occasion, he wrote, "To the ordinary reader of the Bible, 'inheriting the Kingdom of Heaven' simply means being saved and going to heaven. For others it means the millenium. For some, the organized church; for others the 'Invisible Church.' For the mystic, it means the hidden life with God. The truth is that the idea in the sense in which Jesus and his audiences understood it almost completely passed out of Christian thought as soon as Christianity passed from the Jewish people and found its spiritual home within the great Graeco-Roman world...The Greek world cherished no such national religious hope as the prophets had ingrained in Jewish thought; on the other hand it was intensely interested in the future life of the individual and the ascetic triumph over flesh and matter...only some remnants of it persisted in the millenarian hope and in the organic conception of the Church. (Rauschenbusch, 1907, 54-55).

Many people opposed the social gospel, many others embraced it. For Rauschenbusch it was a spiritual home. In his later years, he wrote a final book, A Theology for the Social Gospel. His final word on the Kingdom of Heaven will have to suffice as an ending for this paper: "The Kingdom of God breeds prophets; the Church breeds priests and theologians. The Church runs

to tradition and dogma; the Kingdom of God rejoices in forecasts and boundless horizons...The Kingdom of God is to theology what oudoor colour and light are to art. It is impossible to estimate what inspirational impulses have been lost to theology and to the Church, because it did not develop the doctrine of the Kingdom of God and see the world and its redemption from that point of view." (Rauschenbusch, 1917, 137).

The lineal descendents of Rauschenbusch have been the liberation theologists, men and women of the order of Martin Luther King, who said of Rauschenbusch, "I came early to Walter Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis and it left an indelible imprint on my thinking by giving me the theological basis for my social concern." "It has been my conviction ever since reading Rauschenbusch that any religion which professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about the social and economic conditions that scar the soul is a spiritually moribund religion." (From Stride Toward Freedom ( N.Y. 1958, 91.) (Hudson, 41).

Jim Wallis, author of The Call to Conversion, is an evangelical with a social conscience, who with the Sojourners, lives out a very Rauschenbusch kind of evangelical social justice conception of the kingdom of God.

A third descendent would be Ernesto Cardenal, who shares with Rauschenbusch the centrality of the Magnificat as a statement of liberation in the world. Both Rauschenbusch and Cardenal discuss the Magnificat as a "revolutionary document" and call upon the oppressed of the world to take it to heart.

Others are certainly there, but these have been the ones most strikingly in the model of Rauschenbusch. Evangelicals, in trying to lose touch with this great evangelical, deny themselves a real prophet. Rauschenbusch's conception of the Kingdom of God includes us all and cannot help but be a vision of the life to come.

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## PARALLELS TO METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY CHURCH IN THE RADICAL REFORMATION

Metropolitan Community Churches (MCC) was founded in 1968 by Rev. Troy Perry to answer a perceived need for a religious body which would not discriminate on the grounds of sexual orientation. For centuries, the church had proclaimed anethema those persons of homosexual and/or bisexual identity. For some people, this was a meaningless proscription, they felt no need to belong to organized religion. For others, it was a deprivation which had far-reaching effects on their personalities, behavior, self-esteem, and relationship with God. Having believed they were not accepted or loved by God (whom they had been told was a God of love), produced a sense of being unloveable, unacceptable, and worthless. Many were angry with the church, with society, with God. Others merely went away from the church and in anger, pain, and rebellion, began a life which acted out their perceived value by society and the church. If they were worthless, they would behave so. If they were unacceptable, merely by being, they would behave unacceptably. If they were unloved, they would behave unloveably. With their acceptance of the church's valuation of them, they undervalued themselves and made of their lives a living hell, often becoming alcoholic, drug addicted, sex addicted, and self-destructive.

In October, 1968, Troy Perry, then a defrocked Pentecostal minister working for Sears Roebuck in Los Angeles, was called to the jail cell of one young man who had accepted this valuation on himself. He had been arrested for a sexual offense, and ashamed that his parents would hear that he was homosexual, attempted suicide in his jail cell. Troy Perry, called because he often could be of help to prisoners, talked with the young man, and in the course of the conversation, the man said, "Everyone has deserted me, even God doesn't care what happens to me."[1] Troy knew then that something had to be done, and felt called to begin a church which would not discriminate against anyone, on any grounds.

Because Troy was from Pentecostal background, the new church had a tradition, from the beginning, of accepting those who believed in and experienced the "baptism of the Holy Spirit." But, because the early members and founders were from many backgrounds, the church also was intent on being truly ecumenical. In the first twelve members were Catholics, Episcopalians and various Protestants. "It would have to be a church that most (people) could identify with, and accept it as not being unusual or odd. It seemed to me that it should be traditional, almost like those they attended in childhood, or not too different from that...It had to be completely honest...But I also had to reestablish old links with God, but do it in a new way that would be meaningful for our community."

Certainly a church for the gay community is an idea that had to come only in the twentieth century, and was a product of the kind of liberation ideas which were prevalent in the 1960's, coming on the heels of Black liberation and women's liberation movements. But, in a stranger way, MCC was an idea whose time had come, not just for the gay community of the '60's but for the church as a whole. Not only were gay people ready to break through the

the church's beliefs regarding sexuality -- to break through the dualism, the mind/body, flesh/spirit split which had such a hold on all of the churches in the west -- and probably more on the churches of the East. From the very beginning, MCC drew into their congregations nearly one heterosexual person for every four gay people -- and still does. In almost every case, their reasons for coming are identical with those of the gay people, they come because the church's stand on sexuality is open, caring, and freeing. Is this a new phenomena for the church or is there a root for the acceptance of sexuality, a church which is open to the movement of the Holy Spirit in the lives of people, and which has a lively, spirited worship style which engages people's emotions as well as their minds, which affirms their bodies as well as their souls, and which speaks to the whole person? There may have been churches which attempted some of the same things MCC does, churches which began in the years of the Reformation and which either died out or which never really took hold, but which gave a flavor and spirit to churches which did succeed. Certainly American Pentecostalism, the Free Churches of Europe, and certain Quaker and Unitarian groups have affected what Metropolitan Community Churches accept and teach. Was there some common root in the Radical Reformation which was overlooked or forgotten, but which was kept alive and resurfaced with the founding of MCC? Many of us in the ministry of MCC believe that our church is not just a "gay church," but is a church which springs from a proud heritage, combines many churches which had a common root, and which brings back to the c hurch a dream which first surfaced during the Radical Reformation.

It is important to look at the By-Laws of Metropolitan Community Churches to see what is currently being advanced as the beliefs and practices of this church. It is a very simple statement of belief which MCC asks its members to affirm. Two years after its founding, the By-Laws and Statement of Faith already affirmed that"Scripture must be interpreted by the Divine Spirit through reason, faith, and conscience, as it guides in faith and discipline." Throughout the early By-Laws, the presence of the Holy Spirit as guide and "working arm of God" is iterated and reiterated. (See Appendix A). Also in those early By-Laws was the idea that people "are saved from loneliness, despair, and degradation through God's gift of grace, as witnessed by our Master's words when He said, "Today thou shalt be with me in paradise." " While the current By-Laws phrases that statement somewhat differently, the theme is the same. As the By-Laws have developed and are being developed through adaptation and amendment at annual and biennial General Conferences, one idea continues: The church is constantly open to the working of the Holy Spirit, is guided by Scripture but not bound by it, and that God truly loves creation and God's creatures -- not just their minds and spirits but their bodies and what those bodies are capable of, as well.

Additionally, one must look at the worship practices of MCC for a clue to beliefs. While individual MCC's tend to be somewhat different from each other, there are certain general practices which are common to nearly all MCC's. The first such is that communion is served <u>every</u> Sunday -- a practice which diverges sharply from churches which came out of the Reformation, yet a practice which -- in MCC's usage -- is reformed. MCC's communion is totally open to all persons, is served in both kinds, and signifies a "desire to be received into Christ's fellowship, and be saved by Christ's sacrifice."

In MCC's the preaching and teaching is done equally by the word and by the act. MCC's are reported to "sing Baptist hymns, preach a liberal theology, and have an Episcopal communion." In another part of the country that comes out a little differently. One minister from Arkansas recently told this writer that they "sing Pentecostal hymns, preach a Baptist sermon, and have a Catholic communion." Those two statements probably characterize the differences between MCC's in the northern United States and in the more sourthernly and southwestern areas of the country. The Hymnology of MCC is relatively broad, taking in hymns and songs from every tradition -- those listed above, plus Catholic charismatic, modern gospel songs, Black gospel music, stately ancient hymns, and dancing modern popular tunes which have had religious words adapted to them. Worship can include drama, dance, movement, jumping, foot stomping, handclapping, and applause. It is often characterized by Pentecostal or charismatic manifestations. People are slain in the spirit, do occasionally speak in tongues, have danced in the spirit, and there has been a very real sense of the Spirit having been present to large numbers of people. The worship of MCC is very much in keeping with groups which are open to the movement of the holy Spirit. Often there is time for the congregation to participate informally. Prayers, dialogue sermons, times of silence when the Holy Spirit is asked to speak are often included in the less formal worship services.

MCC's differ from most Christian churches in their interpretation of those scripture passages which have been used to condemn homosexuality: the "big eight," is the way they are spoken of in MCC's. These eight passages have been subjected to intensive study and scrutiny by MCC scholars. Rev. Bob Arthur who was a professor of Semitic languages has written extensively on these eight passages, particularly the Old Testament passages. Rev. Michael England, graduate of Union Seminary has also written a definitive booklet on the eight passages. If there is a "gay hermaneutic" as has been charged then that process has been used to clarify for MCC congregations what these eight passages are attempting to teach. Two Old Testament passages have been identified as relating to cultic worship -- sexuality used in the worship of a god or gods (Lev. 18:22 and 20:13). Michael England points out that the Hebrew word toebah "is a religious designation and refers to any idolatrous practice, not only to sexual practices." He also suggests that the sanctity of the male person is implied here, and that it was common practice to sodomize one's enemies, with the conquered person becoming property (as a woman was). The Sodom and Gomorrah story is identified for MCC people as a story which deals with destruction because of the people's general depravitynot merely their homosexual rape of the messengers, which certainly was not an attempt to be sexual, but to be abusive -- even with intent to kill. MCC points out (particularly in England's material) that scholars such as D.S. Bailey have done extensive word study, which bears out MCC's "hermaneutic." Bailey has already said that the drime of the Cities of the Plains was their inhospitality to strangers, a far more serious crimein a desert culture. MCC teaches and has always taught that as "strangers and sojourners" gay people are more sinned against than condemned by the Sodom and Gomorrah passages (Genesis 19:4-11, Judges 19:22, Jude 6-7, and II Peter 2:4,6-8). Two Pauline passages, I Corinthians 6:9 and I Timothy 1:10, are concerned with lists of sinners and include the Greek words and . Both of these are sexual words, one meaning soft or effete (and meaning in context properly "spineless".) The other relates to ritual prostitution, harking back to the Levitical passages, and to the sexual use of people as objects. None of the Greek words currently (in N.T. times) particularly and , the two usual partners,

one older, one younger, which was the situation in classic Greece and which were most well known, were used in the Bible. MCC's teaching, therefore, is that Paul was speaking against those who, because they followed certain philosophies of the day were too hedonistic to "stand firm" against the persecution to which the early Christians were subject. Secondly, that sex, when it worships the creature rather than the creator is wrong, but that sex used properly and not with intent to objectify another is a valid and spiritual use of the body.

MCC's ethical teachings in dealing with homosexuality are based on our understanding of the above scripture passages. There is nothing inherently evil about homosexuality. How it is used, whether in a person-affirming or in an objectifying way (as is true of all sexuality) is what is important. Also, the role of the homosexual as stranger and sojourner in a world of heterosexuals is emphasized. The feminist hymn, "Lead on, O Cloud of Jahweh" has become a theme for MCC, "The journey is our home." The wandering of the Hebrew people, the separated altar on the wrong side of Jordan (reason: "It is our God, too.), and the resurrection of the dry bones are all themes which MCC churches preach as fundamental to our faith. Our intent is to give our people strength to withstand, courage to identify themselves as who and what they are, and to be a pilgrim people. Interestingly enough, these are all themes which come out of times of oppression -- the early church, the Radical Reformation, Black Christianity, and now MCC, have found strength in certain Biblical ideas. Ethical behavior in MCC is not concerned with one's sexual partners, but is concerned with whether one is "closeted" or not -- because "closetedness" is idolatry, the placing of something else ahead of one's dependency on God.

Additionally, there are themes in MCC preaching and worship which cannot have any root other than in the Radical Reformation. Because so many of our ministers derive from churches rooted in Reformed traditions (United Church of Christ, Baptist, Methodist, Pentecostal) there is a strong Radical Reformation flavor to MCC. MCC sees two roots for its authority: the Holy Spirit and Reason. We are open to the teachings of scholars of the world today. MCC is particularly open to professionals in psychology, sociology, social ethics, and social psychology. These enlighten our reason, and inform us as to who we are. If religious teachings do not square with what our reason teaches us, that teaching must be in error, and we will use science, education, and reason to defeat it. However, for our information about God, we are willing to listen to the voice of the Holy Spirit and to follow that leading. Troy Perry, as much as any founder of a Christian movement, believes that he was led to this movement by the Holy Spirit. He tells of a vision he had of the field of dry bones and being told in that vision that this would be his ministry. Many MCC ministers have had manifestations of the Holy Spirit, have experienced personal healing, the healing of memories, or other manifestations which are spoken of by people who believe in the present day movement of the Holy Spirit. Very often meetings will be stopped, and the movement of the Holy Spirit asked for before an important vote is taken. While Scripture is important and essential, both liberal and conservative wings of MCC agree that the working of the Holy Spirit now is essential to our beliefs and if the Holy Spirit can enlighten scripture so that it means something different from what it traditionally has meant, MCC will espouse the new teaching, particularly if it also seems to be reasonable. It is interesting, then, that in its authority, MCC seems to blend the views of the Inspirationists (Spiritualists) and the Rationalists, both of the Radical Reformation.

MCC people have much in common with the Anabaptists. We are rebaptizers, in that many people present themselves for baptism by immersion or by sprinkling who have been previously baptised, but who feel now that a major change has taken place in their lives and they are willing to express that re-birth in an outward sign, i.e. baptism. MCC does not reject infant baptism, but builds upon it in a new way, suggesting that infant baptism was socially required, but that rebaptism is a spiritual offering. Again, following the Anabaptists, we believe in a rebirth,a regeneration of the Spirit, a conversion experience which takes one out of the old (and often worthless -- or perceived to be worthless) self and into the new self as an accepted,loved, and valued child of God. We believe in disturbing the civil peace if that is necessary. We speak loudly for the separation of church and state, because we know that our oppression in the civil sphere is due to the marriage of church and state. We believe in religious liberty, and speak to the toleration of many views -- even within our churches -- of people with whom we disagree. Our churches are Christian societies in which all members are expected to have had a conversion experience to the common beliefs and to live out that conversion by their lives. (For us, that often means that if one believes what MCC is teaching about God and God's love, that one is so strengthened that one is enabled to "come out" to loved ones, family, and even employers.. For us, this is the equivalent of the "disciplined deportment" of the Anabaptists -- the living out of one's faith. MCC folk are overwhelmingly pacifists. We have been oppressed too long to want to oppress anyone else, either personally or governmentally.

The key word for the Anabaptists was restoration. This is a key concept for MCC, as well. We have been restored to the church, and we are a movement to restore the church to a loving stance for all people. With Balthazar Hubmaier, we would affirm a number of statements:

1. Faith alone makes us just before God.
2. Faith is knowledge of the mercy of God, manifested through God giving us Jesus.
3. Faith must manifest itself toward God in thanksgiving and in works which show God's love.
4. "To promise chastity in the strength of man is nothing less than to fly over the sea without wings."

With Hans Denck we believe, most of us, in universal salvation. All will be saved, no one is so hopelessly lost that God's love does not include them. We believe in an immanent second coming -- but do not have a date!

With Hutter, many MCC's live communally or at least in small communities within the gay ghetto. We find strength in the commonality of goods.

MCC folk are in agreement with the Church at large on the major theological points of the Apostle's Creed, as were the Anabaptists. We are trinitarian, and believe in the vicarious atonement.

While MCC would disavow Muentzer's warlike spirit, there is a militancy -- a pacifist militancy, if that is possible -- which states that we will withstand any effort of the state to destroy either our churches or our people. MCC stands in the forefront of the Gay liberation movement. Many other Gay Christian groups decry our open stance on Gay liberation, but we have found for our people that there is no other way.

With Sebastian Franck, the Antinomian, MCC would agree that whatever is said of God, the opposite is also trug, and that God makes Godself known to all, not just to a chosen few (like heterosexuals). We believe that there is no election, that salvation is open and free to all who will, and given time, even to some who won't right now.

Withthe Spiritual pietists we would agree that Christianity is only one of many valid approaches to God. We believe that our religion must square with common sense -- but often permit the Holy Spirit to do things which are totally irrational. We have an open spirit of critical inquiry -- particularly today as regards feminist theology, the maternal spirit of God, and an openness to looking historically at Scripture and to the effect that the early Hebrews' masculinist philosophy had upon Scripture, society, and social ethics. MCC people often are mystics. Troy Perry is an amazing mixture of the activist and the mystic, going off to the desert and fasting to seek the guidance of God and/or the movement of the Holy Spirit.

MCC clergy often live lives of real dedication, foregoing many comforts to enable the ministry of the church. Congregations often live frugally, believing so strongly in the work they are doing that they will pour all of their savings and earnings into the local church. Members have literally, "sold all they have"to give to the church. The sense of dedication to the movement is so great that some clergy have literally lived in the church building to keep expenses down in order to enlarge the congregation and spread the growth of MCC churches to new places. In 13 years we have grown from 12 people in a living room to more than 150 churches in 120 cities of the United States, 8 cities in Canada, to England, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Nigeria, Denmark, Germany, and even Poland. It is a movement which says, in effect, that God's creation includes the human body, and that God's creation is good -- all of it.

More recently, MCC has been working on a theology of sexuality. Our new Faith, Fellowship and Order Commission is beginning a series of workshops which will deal with how our sexuality informs our spirituality. At some point, we expect to have a greater theological understanding of how who we are affects what we learn and what we teach as Christians. We are a church in movement -- open to the working of the Holy Spirit now, and open to how the Holy Spirit has moved historically in the past. For us, the Radical Reformation and the Anabaptists enlighten us.

[illegible]

## SUGGESTED READINGS

1. *Primary Readings*

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Religion* (14). The writings of Marx and Engels on religion are, for the most part, incidental in character. The collection in this volume is therefore arranged chronologically, not systematically. The following selections, sometimes quite brief, indicate the most important passages from which a comprehensive understanding can be gained: pp. 23, 35-37, 41-42, 50-54, 69-89, 94, 97-118, 127-137, 142-143, 145-151, 194-212, 226-227, 237-241, 263-267, 299-309. These may be supplemented by Engels' essay "On the History of Early Christianity," *On Religion*, pp. 316-347. Another supplementary reading is Marx's essay "On the Jewish Question" in Karl Marx, *Early Writings* (13).

2. *Secondary Readings*

The literature of the "Christian-Marxist dialogue" continues the present discussion of Marxism and religion. The following books introduce many of the major participants in the dialogue, the central issues, and further bibliography: Herbert Aptheker, ed., *Marxism and Christianity* (New York: Humanities Press, 1968); Herbert Aptheker, *The Urgency of Marxist-Christian Dialogue* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); J. B. Metz, ed., *Is God Dead?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1966); Roger Garaudy, *From Anathema to Dialogue* (5); Roger Garaudy and Quentin Lauer, *A Christian-Communist Dialogue* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1968); Giulio Girardi, *Marxism and Christianity* (New York: Macmillan, 1968); Helmut Gollwitzer, *The Christian Faith and the Marxist Criticism of Religion* (New York: Scribner's, 1970); J. M. Lochman, *Church in a Marxist Society; a Czechoslovak view* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); Thomas W. Ogletree, ed., *Openings for Marxist-Christian Dialogue* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968); Paul Oestreicher, ed., *The Christian Marxist Dialogue: An International Symposium* (New York: Macmillan, 1969); John C. Raines and Thomas Dean, eds., *Marxism and Radical Religion; Essays Toward a Revolutionary Humanism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1970).

3. *Additional Bibliography*

John Lachs, *Marxist Philosophy: A Bibliographical Guide* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), is a comprehensive, annotated bibliography including a chapter on "Marxism and Religion." More bibliography on the Christian-Marxist dialogue is found in *Study Encounter*, vol. IV, no. 1, 1968 ("Dialogue between Christians and Marxists"), published by the Division of Studies of the World Council of Churches.

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H. Paul Santmire
Wellesley.

# 6

## REINHOLD NIEBUHR

## *Religion Fosters Social Criticism and Promotes Social Justice*

Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971) was profoundly concerned about the role of religion in society. Could religion be an agent for social change? Could it expose inequity and promote social justice? Or was religion a reactionary force in society? Was it a barrier to change, an ideological mask for unjust self-interest, a forbidden habitation for people of good conscience? Through the title of his first book Niebuhr asked pointedly, *Does Civilization Need Religion?* His reply was that sensitive spirits scorn those forms of religion that fail to challenge recognized social inequities" (6:14). Civilization needs no religion that exacerbates or ignores pressing social problems.

Because of this social sensitivity, Niebuhr listened carefully to Karl Marx's scathing indictment of religion. His own experience as a minister in Detroit, Michigan, between the first world war and the great depression led him to conclude that Marx's analysis of the role of religion in society was often correct. Niebuhr observed that Marx's charge concerning the reactionary role of religious institutions was too often "unequivocably true" (11:Autumn, 1935, 14). Both in the past and the present religion often

> creates a reverence for authority and encourages a humble obedience toward and a patient acceptance of the exactions of power, thus aggravating the injustices of a social system and retarding their elimination (*ibid.*).

For the most part, religion is counter-revolutionary. It endows repressive governments with auras of sanctity; it justifies suffering in social life as a just punishment for sin; it dampens social unrest by offering otherworldly rewards. It smothers the cry of the ethically sensitive revolutionary, and turns a deaf ear to the groans of the oppressed. It protects the *status quo* and fosters social inequity by encouraging an unconscious, but hypocritical feeling of righteousness in those who benefit from oppression. In too many cases, religion indeed is an opiate of the people and an ideological companion for established authorities.

Nevertheless, through his acquaintance with the prophetic sources of biblical religion, Niebuhr became convinced that religion could become an agent for social change. In contrast to its reactionary role, religion can become a power that encourages revolution and the amelioration of social ills. From the biblical literature and his own creative experience he developed a realistic, socially-responsible "prophetic religion" in sharp distinction from the forms of religion identified by Karl Marx. This "prophetic" or "high" religion has three concrete social functions.

First, prophetic religion stimulates a critical assessment of the real nature of human existence. In radical opposition to the assertions of Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud that religion offers man an illusionary escape from the real problems of human existence, Reinhold Niebuhr argued that religion sponsors an incisive, realistic, insightful depiction of man and the world (6:47-149; 9:xii-xxv; 3:11). It describes man's depravity and dignity and unmasks the sentimental illusions of all idealistic social schemes, including the utopian vision of the self-designated social scientist Karl Marx.

Second, prophetic religion reveals and sustains absolute ethical standards that may become the foundation for prophetic criticism and social unrest. Since these norms can never be completely realized in any social system, they give prophetic religion the power to "criticize and condemn the partial achievements of any historical movement" (11:Autumn, 1935, 18). "Prophetic spirits" arise in many generations and cultural contexts and indict all established social, political or religious positions. They break free from the confines of class and nation and denounce anyone—king, priest, educator, executive—who betrays the rights of men and resists the cries of conscience (*ibid.*:18-19; 4:51,163-164).

Third, aided by its critical realism, prophetic religion functions in society as a catalyst for social change. Like Marx's acid test for philosophy, Niebuhr believed that religion should help transform the world, not just analyze it (6:165-189; 11:Spring, 1938, 18). Like yeast in dough, the reformist principles of religion can become implanted in political and social structures and then effect transformation and change (11:Winter, 1936, 10; 10:II, chap. IX). Prophetic religion is neither reactionary nor impotent. It is "the most radical force in social life" (11:Spring, 1938, 13).

How and why did Reinhold Niebuhr appropriate the indictment of Marx, yet also vindicate prophetic religion's positive social roles? Niebuhr's American context led him to search for a critically realistic perspective from which he could understand political, social and religious institutions. Marx became an intrinsic part of that quest. Yet at the same time, Niebuhr believed that Marx's critique had excluded prophetic criticism from religion. However obscured or submerged it might become, prophetic judgment constantly appears within religion. Impelled by transcendent ethical perspectives, fiery-eyed prophets arose to denounce old orders and proclaim and portray new ones. Indeed, Niebuhr argued, Marx borrowed from and secularized that heritage. Marx created a new, secular religion which was less viable and realistic than that which Niebuhr found within the biblical literature. Behind the searing social critic was Marx the religious romantic.

### 1. NIEBUHR'S INTELLECTUAL, HISTORICAL, AND SOCIAL SETTING

Two theological traditions and two sets of historical experiences deeply informed Niebuhr's thought and influenced his response to Marx. Protestant liberalism and the social gospel movement became Niebuhr's theological parents. The young Niebuhr was nurtured by liberalism and the social gospel movement, and the maturing Niebuhr developed his later perspectives over against them. World War I and its aftermath was an eye-opening experience that initiated the collapse of Niebuhr's early optimistic world view. Then his parish activities in industrial Detroit between the war and the great depression left an indelible impression on Niebuhr's mind that made him receptive to the thought of Marx.

With his father as his tutor, Niebuhr was schooled in the religious liberalism of the famous German historian and theologian Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930) (3:3).[1] Harnack characterized the essence of Christianity as an attachment to the paternal love of God made known through the actions and teachings of Jesus. Characteristic of liberal Protestant theology, Harnack's dominant concern was to make faith fully compatible with the modern world. The rigid, dogmatic, literalistic faith of the past had to be fundamentally revised. The Bible was to be read in light of ordinary historical and literary criteria, hopefully without losing its religious value. Traditional beliefs would be updated by new scientific, philosophical, historical and moral truths. Specifically, the criteria for liberal religious beliefs included: 1) conformity to the scientific world

of Newtonian physics and Darwinian biology; 2) compatability with modern philosophy represented by David Hume, Immanuel Kant and others; 3) consistency with the reigning assumption that man had evolved from a crude, primitive past and was becoming progressively enlightened and moral; and 4) substitution of traditional beliefs about the sovereignty of God and the depravity of man with convictions concerning God's immanence in the natural world as evident in mankind's innate capacity for goodness and rationality (2:37-34,57-69,88-95).[2] For liberalism, the essence of religion lay in its ethical principles of love and brotherhood, not its disclosure of the tragedy and mystery of human life.

Niebuhr was further exposed to religious liberalism through his teachers at Yale Divinity School, particularly Douglas Clyde Macintosh.[3] From Macintosh and Harnack, Niebuhr inherited a high evaluation of man, an attachment to the principles of tolerance and openness towards other positions, a desire to find meaning in the Bible apart from orthodox literalism and passion for relating religion to modern secular culture (8:40-41,58; Williams in 3:194,203-205). The humanistic concerns of Protestant liberalism were shared by secular liberals like John Dewey, and Niebuhr always remained intensely aware of their similarities and influence (9:xii-xxv).

The term "social gospel" highlighted the shift from the older, individualistic, conversion-oriented evangelism to a new, corporate concern for the social problems of the modern world (2:108-111,115-116).[4] This involved a movement away from questions relating to personal ethics—profanity, drunkenness, sexuality and the like—to a primary concern for social ethics—fair wages, unemployment, child labor, welfare, and urban slums (2:112-113). The term "gospel" was retained because the Protestant supporters of the movement still believed that the life and teachings of Jesus formed the central core of religious faith. Nevertheless, a momentous shift had occurred. For the social gospel movement, religion was to find its primary *raison d'être* in the social sphere. Concern for individual salvation was not denied, but that concern was to be related inextricably to larger questions concerning the humanization and transformation of society.

Significant lines of continuity existed between the liberal theology of Harnack and Macintosh and the ideology that supported the social gospel. The denial of original sin was accompanied by a belief in the malleability of humanity, or, in the words of the famous social gospel leader, Walter Rauschenbusch, "the plastic possibilities of mankind" (2:112). Man comes into the world morally neutral and has the ability to internalize and practice altruism (1:224-225,260-275; 2:109,215; 4:138-140). Society, if led by strong men and women of good will, could move progressively toward an ideal future. The long-expected and proclaimed kingdom of God could—and would—be created on this earth (1:151-154; 2:115). The stubborn sins of the social order could be eradicated by love and brotherhood (4:130-134). American biblical scholars in the social gospel era claimed that these themes lay at the heart of the original proclamation of Jesus.[5]

The tactics of social gospel leaders fit hand-in-glove with their religious ideology and concern for social issues. They first made exceedingly careful, scientifically accurate analyses of social problems and then called for religiously-inspired action to solve them. They had great expectations about the social power of religion once it secured the aid of the social sciences. Their enthusiasm led them to undertake impressive studies of social problems in which penetrating criticisms of the social order were offered (e.g., 4:19-25). However, their excessive confidence in human rationality and goodness encouraged them to believe that the solutions to social ills could be attained by the scientific analysis of society coupled with altruistic service. The legacy of this liberalism is still everywhere apparent. Malleable man, if transformed and inspired by religious faith, could break the chains of *laissez-faire* capitalism. The church as "a society of free men acting together in the spirit of intelligent good-will" could change the world (1:292).

During Reinhold Niebuhr's student years at Yale (1913–1914), this form of the social gospel movement was reaching its peak in America. The dean of the Yale Divinity School, Charles Reynolds Brown, along with several younger faculty members, was attempting enthusiastically to use the resources of religion to forge social change (1:149-152,169-170,225-234). After leaving Yale, Niebuhr found a focus for his own ministry in social concerns (8:27). He also sharply criticized a fellow clergyman's preoccupation with the personal ethics of his parishioners rather than with real problems of "essential Christianity" (8:96-97).

The picture of religion drawn by Marx was alien to that of theological liberals and social gospel advocates. For these two American theological traditions, religion was no illusionary, futuristic, other-worldly pie in the sky. Indeed, distinct continuities linked the basic religious concerns of social gospel liberals with Karl Marx. Both were devoted to critical rationality, ethical values, this-worldly concerns, social activism and the goodness and malleability of man. When liberal activists took their students to visit urban slums or to man social-service centers in the midst of cities, little did they realize that they were taking some of their students into the world of Karl Marx.

Niebuhr began his ministry in Detroit shortly after the start of the first world war, and although his parish activities consumed much of his energy, the war and the diplomacy that followed it made vital impressions upon his mind. Throughout his life, Niebuhr's thought was in-

*If* religion were to play a constructive role in industrial society, "a more heroic type of religion" must be developed (8:113). The maturing Niebuhr had identified a central theme of his future life's work.

In a caustic article in 1926, Niebuhr exposed some of the deceptive and brutal policies of Henry Ford. The Ford organization adopted new policies which it claimed were humanitarian: daily pay was raised to five dollars, the work week was reduced to five days, and five thousand young men between sixteen and twenty years of age were employed to keep them out of crime. Niebuhr knew that Ford publicity grossly distorted the intention and purported benefits of these policies. A laborer and his family could not possibly live on five dollars a day in Detroit. The celebrated five-day week was actually adopted in order to limit working time because of plant production cutbacks. Young men were hired, not to keep them out of mischief, but to replace workers over forty-five, thus exploiting the superior stamina of the young (16:98-101). In Niebuhr's view, these policies of the Ford Company manifested "criminal indifference on the part of the strong to the fate of the weak" (8:94). At the heart of capitalism was power, and "an industrial overlord will not share his power with his workers until he is forced to do so by tremendous pressure" (*ibid.*).

These and similar experiences in Detroit comprised the foundations of Niebuhr's new certainties: the moral pretentions of industrialists, the horror of working conditions, the impotence and reactionary role of religious institutions, the irrelevancy of the moral optimism of the social gospel and liberalism, and the centrality of power in modern society. By 1928, Karl Marx had become for Niebuhr a healthy antidote for his earlier idealisms and illusions.

### 2. MARX AS SECULAR SEER AND MENTOR

By the time that he left Detroit and began his career as a professor of ethics at Union Theological Seminary (1928–1960), Niebuhr had begun to utilize Karl Marx's analysis of ideology and ethics as a critical principle in his own thought. His disillusionment with liberalism and the resistance of churches to progressive social roles also led him to Marx's critique of religion. In 1928 he recommended that every religious leader subscribe to several radical, socialist journals, "preferably the ones extremely inimical to religion" (8:177). These journals exposed some of "the fundamental defects of modern society" as well as many of the illusions of liberalism. An examination of Niebuhr's understanding of ideology and the class origins of ethics, together with his application of these concepts to American middle-class religion, disclose his indebtedness to Marx.



Karl Marx had maintained that economic factors ultimately gave rise to political, philosophical and religious ideologies. Economic conditions give birth to social classes which in turn develop patterns of thought that rationalize and justify the respective social positions of each class. The resulting ideologies are illusionary in that they are a "reflex" (reflection) of the real world of economics and society, not the substantially valid principles that they are assumed to be. Religion reflects the social status of its adherents and functions negatively by preserving oppressive social systems. Religion keeps man from becoming aware of the primary significance of social and economic factors in life and discourages social change by insisting on the supreme importance of other-worldly rewards.

In a pregnant quotation, Reinhold Niebuhr demonstrated substantial agreement with Marx's analysis. Niebuhr argued that it is

> impossible to deal intelligently with the social problem of man if the whole world of culture . . . does not give more generous understanding of the truth which Marxism has discovered, or at least rediscovered: The truth that all human ideals and ideas are conditioned by the physical, geographic, economic and political circumstances in which they rise and that the final religious effort to escape this relativity may frequently become no more than the final rationalization, and justification of the partial and relative value of class, race and nation. In that sense the ultimate dishonesty of a culture is always a religious one [11:(Autumn, 1935), 19].

Ideologies are conditioned by economic and social factors. Religion, by endorsing—indeed divinizing—the respective statuses of each social class (extended also to race and nationality) preserves the social *status quo* and obscures the degree to which the values of each class reflect social circumstance rather than God-given truth (9:116). Religion and other ideological systems are frequently counter-revolutionary, and they foster illusions about the nature of life.

Niebuhr, however, did not agree with Marx's "economic determinism," that is, with the belief that ideologies were only reflections of economic forces. Niebuhr believed that economic and social circumstances greatly influence, but do not delimit, human ideas and ideals (9:145; 11:Autumn, 1935, 4,18; 8:Spring, 1938, 17). This position was similar to that of Friedrich Engels and of a growing number of American economists and historians after 1913 (9:145).[9] Niebuhr's fundamental divergence from Marx's determinism allowed him to draw heavily upon the latter's thought without accepting his reductionism.

Niebuhr applied Marx's critique of ideology to the subject of morality. In his book *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932), Niebuhr coursed through history showing how the respective class conditions of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within industrial society led them to

develop different moral systems. Proletarians idealize the group and its need for solidarity (9:152). They are thus willing to limit personal freedom by subsuming individualism under the cherished hope of an egalitarian society. The proletarian turns to his own group in order to qualify the greed and power of privileged groups. He also sanctions violence to secure social change (9:176-179). His ideals do not spring from some "pure ethical imagination," but from the specific circumstances of proletarian life (9:160). The proletarian's symbol of hope is a classless society which

> gives moral dignity to the dream of the victory of his class. By that vision the proletarian escapes the partial and the relative and bestows the value of universality upon his efforts (9:161).

These are the principle ideals of Marxism and are readily received as the creed of the oppressed masses.

Due to their radically different social situation, dominant social groups develop other ethical values. The bourgeoisie idealize individual liberty and insist on respect for individual life and rights (9:178). They become "the apostles of law and order," abhoring violence and adoring civil peace. They assume that civil disorder and violence are intrinsically evil and that civil peace is inherently virtuous (9:130). Little do members of the ruling class realize that they are in fact idealizing the forces that enable them to maintain power. They claim that their superior ability and education, combined with their thrifty, diligent life-style, are deserving of special economic rewards and social power (9:118,123). In fact, their idealizing of order and peace allow them to retain the power that they have gained and to deplore morally any attempts to change by force the system that they control. If, however, they were truly and intrinsically opposed to violence, why do their cries for civil peace turn into international sword-rattling when their economic interests abroad are threatened (9:139)? "More than one ruling class," cried Niebuhr, "has saved itself by an opportune war" (*ibid.*).

Niebuhr concluded that the conscious and often unconscious "ethical outlook of members of given classes is invariably colored, if not determined, by the unique economic circumstances which each class has as a common possession" (9:116). Any class, therefore, that assumes its values alone are correct is self-deceived (9:117). Privileged groups mouth class-colored, race-informed ideals, not universal ones (9:117-141). These relative, class-originated values are manifest in all primary Western institutions—law, education, politics and religion.

Between 1926 and 1928, Reinhold Niebuhr had become intensely aware of the degree to which American religious institutions reflected



"the interests and prejudices of the middle classes" (8:112). When he published his first book in 1927, he utilized the insights of the famous sociologist of religion and student of Marx, Max Weber, in arguing that Protestantism sanctified "the peculiar interests and prejudices of the races and classes" which dominated the industrial, commercial West (6:65-67).[10] Niebuhr observed how religious institutions frequently gave "a pseudo-absolute character" to national, class and racial values (6:61-71). This indictment did not exclude Protestant liberalism, which Niebuhr said "grew out of the intellectual and religious needs of the privileged classes" and was in danger of becoming a "spiritual sublimation of the peculiar interests and prejudices of the commercial class" (6:72).

By 1935, Niebuhr began to make a fundamental distinction between "prophetic religion" and acculturated forms of religiosity (11: Autumn, 1935, 3-6). He regarded prophetic religion as a socially radical, realistic form of religion that transcended its culture origins, including the influence of social class. Niebuhr identified the polar opposite of prophetic religion as "culture religion" or acculturated religion, that is, any religion that knows no God or has no moral system that transcends the culture in which it finds itself (11:Autumn, 1938, 9). Acculturated religion is a "form of tribalism" which makes the nation or the civilization into God. It is "a form of idolatry in which God has become domesticated into a tame icon," sanctifying and preserving the values of a given culture (*ibid.*) Niebuhr's category of acculturated religion was precisely parallel to what Marx had assumed about all religion: it is an ideological reflection of socioeconomic existence.

Niebuhr identified two forms of acculturated religion which were precisely like the two basic types of religion analyzed by Karl Marx. The first is the traditional religion of the masses, identical with most non-Protestant, pre-industrial forms of faith. This religion encourages servile virtues of reverence for authority and a patient endurance of, and humble obedience to, those holding power (11:Autumn, 1935, 14). In believing that evil rulers were sent by God as punishment for sin, in beguiling mankind away from mundane problems through promising other-worldly rewards, and in sanctifying class divisions, this religion defuses revolutionary change and endorses injustice in the social sphere. Russian Orthodoxy before the advent of communism typified this kind of acculturated religion. Its almost complete identification with socially reactionary political forces made it "an easy prey" to the proletarian revolt against the old order (6:69, 9:184 also). Marx's charge that religion was counter-revolutionary was "broadly true" for this form of institutionalized religion (11:Autumn, 1935, 14-18).

A second form of acculturated religion—and the one to which

Niebuhr gave his greatest attention—is the faith of the middle-class and upper middle-class in industrial capitalist society. This faith, best represented by Protestantism, supports bourgeois ethics. It endows individuality, diligence, education, civil order, and peace with cosmic significance. By giving divine sanction to the self-interests and needs of those who control the social order, middle-class religion offers security and solidarity to those who benefit most from the capitalist system.

Niebuhr gave several specific examples of capitalist religiosity. He observed how the churches of Detroit eschewed social change and possible disorder by lining up solidly against the collective labor movement and in support of business and management (8:112).

A vivid new example appeared in 1935. With several other clergymen, Niebuhr was invited to Pineville, Kentucky, after Congress had passed a bill requiring an investigation of coal mines in Kentucky. Niebuhr found himself in the middle of a "class war" with "the poor mining community arrayed against the middle-class community" of mining operators and owners (Niebuhr in 16:110). The self-designated "good people" of the middle class looked down upon the impoverished miners as ignorant, lazy and immoral enough to steal and perpetrate violence. Predictably, the middle-class churches stood "pretty unqualifiedly on the side of the operators" who were rabidly opposed to any unionization of the mines (*ibid.*). Clergy of the local white churches united with the mining owners and operators of Pineville against the "communist" unionizers. Sensing the social opinions of Niebuhr and other members of the committee, town leaders began to accuse the committee of being theological "modernists," alien to the self-confessed "fundamentalism" of the people in the town. Pineville leaders made it clear that they stood unswervingly upon the "inerrancy of the Scripture as the absolute Word of God" and considered violence-prone communists as deserving of no civil liberties (16:109-111).

In that small Kentucky community Niebuhr observed religion functioning as the bastion of social conservatism, preventing "a thorough analysis of the human problem" and resisting any alteration of the *status quo*. One operator was quoted as saying

> I am a good Christian and a member of the Christian church, but I would just as soon tie a communist in a sack and throw him in the river as do anything else I know (16:111).

Town leaders considered themselves justifiably moral because they sponsored a charity program for some of the miners and because several weeks before the committee's arrival, a religious revival had brought "salvation" to most of the individuals in the middle-class community



(16:112). Individual conversion experiences, acts of charity, educations superior to the poorer members of society, thrifty life-styles and hard work defined what it meant to be religious in Pineville. Niebuhr concluded that if

> one notes the fact that economic circumstances invariably color religious convictions and moral and social ideals, one may well come to the conclusion that no middle-class church will ever espouse the cause of the dispossessed with full vigor (16:112).

Middle-class religion was acculturated to the social patterns of the dominant class.

Niebuhr's critique of the morality of philanthropy was directly indebted to his conviction that it expressed and preserved the individualistic, class values of middle- and upper middle-class capitalists. Acts of charity by altruistic individuals—as manifest in Pineville—were assumed to represent the essence of civic virtue. In fact, Niebuhr argued, such philanthropy is directly related to injustice and inequality (6:103-108). "Christian love in a society of great inequality means philanthropy," and philanthropy always compounds the display of economic power with expressions of pity (7:183). Charity unwittingly invests an unjust social system with a moral aura. Wealthy, self-serving, self-justifying capitalists are made to appear religious and democratic. There is no deeper pathos, Niebuhr once observed, than the unconscious cruelty of a righteous people, a self-appointed moral aristocracy (7:225-226).

Through Reinhold Niebuhr the spirit of Karl Marx traveled from industrial England and holy Russia to the United States. A gigantic conceptual revolution was initiated. Those influenced by Niebuhr no longer took for granted the inviolable morality of white-steepled chapels and little brown churches in the dale.[11] An American myth about its middle-class religious institutions was exposed. These institutions were not merely perpetuators of moral virtue—supposedly but mythologically "separate" from the dirty realism of politics—but were also the expression of the self-interest of the dominant groups in society.

Niebuhr's passionate desire was to be a *realist*, to expose all "illusions" and "pretensions" (two favorite terms) by critical analysis. The moral "pretensions" of statesmen and business leaders should be unearthed and the "illusions" of former idealists like himself must be exposed. Religious institutions could not be exempt from this criticism. In this context, Marx became a secular seer, a severe realist who felt no need "to save either God's or man's reputation" (6:209). His voice served as an antidote to liberal self-deception and offered an analytical perspective that helped expose the immoral dimensions of modern in-

dustrial society. In mind and in spirit Niebuhr found a comrade in Karl Marx.

Nevertheless, Niebuhr's practical work in Detroit, his native intelligence and force of character gave him a critical, discriminating independence from Marx which he never lost (19:117-125, 3:139). On the subjects of ideology, class-shaped ethics, and the reactionary role of religion, Marx was Niebuhr's teacher. However, Niebuhr developed proto-Marxian ideas about industrial society and acculturated religion on the basis of his own experience as illuminated by the biblical literature. His view of man and his understanding of prophetic religion further underline the mature Niebuhr's intellectual independence.

### 3. THE NATURE OF MAN IN PROPHETIC RELIGION

Given Niebuhr's Marxist critique of religion, why did he remain committed to religion? Given his indictment of American religious institutions, how could he hold a professorial chair in ethics in a major American seminary for 32 years?

In part, the answers to these questions lie in Niebuhr's intellectual independence and his refusal to accept Marx's reductionism. Niebuhr felt the temptation of a "complete capitulation" to Marx's materialistic humanism, particularly when so many of his former liberal beliefs had disintegrated. However, he believed that Marx's determinism did "violence to the real dialectic between nature and spirit . . . which all history reveals (11:Autumn, 1935). In contrast with Marx, Niebuhr discerned in man a creative power enabling him to transcend the constraints of his economic or social conditions. In addition, Niebuhr recognized a pervasive and intractable proclivity toward evil which could not be eradicated simply by changing the social structure. In brief, Niebuhr was both more optimistic and more pessimistic than Marx. He discerned resources of freedom in man concealed by Marx's determinism and limits to human goodness concealed by Marx's optimism.

Niebuhr developed this distinctive view of man from the classical Christian literature, especially the Bible. Basic to his thought were the biblical stories of the creation and the fall of man. Niebuhr recognized that these stories were not "actual history," the literal stories of Adam and Eve as the first man and woman. However, because these stories were "myths" and not historically true, he would not dismiss them as did secular and religious liberals.[12] For myths, while not true to history, were true to human nature; they depicted the irreducibly transcendent and tragic dimensions of human life. Religious liberals who ignored



the myth of the fall—because it was historically not true—also missed its profound insights into human nature.

The stories of the creation and the fall appear in the first three chapters of Genesis. In these narratives, God creates a good world and creates man—and subsequently woman—in his image. A serpent then appears who tempts Eve with the promise that she will "be like God" if she eats of the forbidden fruit of the tree of good and evil. After Eve eats the fruit, and induces Adam to eat also, they know themselves to be guilty and are expelled from the garden to a life of labor and suffering.

Niebuhr interpreted the story of creation to mean that man is both body and spirit, with animal and divine qualities. As spirit, he has the power and the freedom to transcend himself. His high degree of consciousness and reason allow him to triumph over other creatures, to remember, analyze and initiate self-directed action. His self-consciousness grants him the power of introspection and moral direction (10:I,12-14). Human dignity lies in these potencies that are actualized in radical freedom. Because he is endowed with the transcendent "image of God" or "spirit," man is a majestic creature (10:I,122; also Wolf in 3:234-235). This biblical story served as a paradigm for Niebuhr's rejection of Marx's determinism. To bind man to economic and social conditions was to dismiss the freedom intrinsic to mankind's creation. According to Niebuhr, Marx's own thought illustrated this freedom. For Marxism grew out of the philosophical reflection and historical investigations of "educated members of the propertied class" and was not a mere reflection of proletarian experience (9:148).

Nevertheless, human dignity comprises also the ground of human depravity. Adam and Eve, representing humankind, refused to accept their limitations as creatures. At the heart of their rebellion was *hubris,* the desire to overcome finitude by playing God. Characteristically, man transmits his "partial and finite self and his partial and finite values into the infinite good. Therein lies his sin" (11:I,122). The driving force of sin is egotism or pride, expressed as dishonesty or pretension (7:71-79,85-87; 18:459). Human life measured by its possibilities is majestic, but measured by its actualities is tragic.

This paradoxical vision of the majesty and tragedy of human life as preserved in the myths of creation and the fall form an essential aspect of Niebuhr's "prophetic religion" (7:74). He believed that the virtue of classical and Reformation thinkers, like Augustine and Martin Luther, lay in their realistic presentations of the pervasiveness of evil in the world (7:74-75). Yet he criticized them for losing the paradoxical balance between man's self-transcendence and his abuse of that power

through pride. By denying man's capacity for transcendence and by focusing too strongly on original sin as an "inherited" corruption, classical Christian theologians minimized the dimension of human freedom and encouraged too much pessimism and social passivity (7:74,90). Niebuhr was neither a thoroughgoing pessimist nor a traditionalist.

Reinhold Niebuhr used this biblical view of man as an interpretive perspective for understanding the dynamics of human history. Like Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection, Niebuhr's view of man became the organizing principle for his extensive observations. For example, Niebuhr discerned that when middle-class business and religious leaders called for law and order, they really asked to place their own interests at the center of that order. This self-aggrandizement was characteristic of Adam, whose inordinate pride led him to make his finite, limited powers and values into ultimate ones (7:85). Man's pretentiousness affects the way he reasons, the way he is patriotic, the way he worships. Against Enlightenment rationalists, who regarded reason as the great road by which learned man leaves bigotry and injustice behind, Niebuhr argued that rationality itself was often corrupted by egotism (9:23,40). It can be simply an instrument for shoring up individual or group insecurity. It can be a scepter by which humans legitimate their rights to oppress their fellows (11:Autumn, 1935, 19-20).

Nationalism is even more frequently distorted by egotism. Weak, "average" little people, unable to achieve individual power and glory, turn to patriotism in order to achieve importance vicariously through the achievements of their nation (9:18). Fathers and mothers project their unfilled ego ambitions on their children. Males avoid mutuality with females lest they expose the weakness of their own humanity (9:46-47). The list of examples is almost endless—class, race, age, profession, culture. Man's infinitely varied creativity is used to find ingenious ways to rival God and rebel against the moral claims of conscience. Man's majesty has become the basis for his tragedy, his self-transcendence the grounds for his darkest pretensions.

As a brilliant extension of this innovative anthropology, Niebuhr distinguished between the egotism of individuals and that of groups.[13] His years as a bachelor in Detroit enabled him to observe how love flourished with much greater ease between individuals within families than between groups of people within larger communities (8:49). In interpersonal relationships, humans are able to transcend egoism and demonstrate genuine care and empathy. However, Niebuhr warned that in social groups there is always

> less capacity for self-transcendence, less ability to comprehend the needs of others and therefore more unrestrained egoism than the individuals, who compose the group, reveal in their personal relationships (9:xi-xii).



This "collective egoism" compounds the pride and insensitivity already intrinsic to individuals. Pride, and its consequent display of power and dishonesty, is thus inseparably bound up with social institutions. In Niebuhr's hands this observation became the basis for a cogent critique of all uncritical and idealistic schemes that claim to transform the social problems of industrial society by increasing individual knowledge and benevolence (9:xii-xxv).

Through biblical and classical religious literature Reinhold Niebuhr developed an independent perspective that enabled him to jettison much of his liberal past, yet reach new certainties.[14] Niebuhr's criticism of his own liberal heritage constituted the cutting edge of his intellectual growth (6:205; 7:169,175; 14:544). At the same time, the view of man he developed from his own experience and his appropriation of biblical literature provided a solid basis for his social criticism. Freedom and *hubris* were "irreducible" characteristics of human life. Human behavior manifested "perennial" sources of conflict, "inevitable" tragedies, "irreducible" irrationalities, and constant sources of freedom for self-transcendence (11:Autumn, 1936, 4; Niebuhr in 3:435-436).

This perspective convinced Niebuhr that both the Protestant liberals and Karl Marx were wrong in assuming that humankind was infinitely malleable. Liberals believed that man could be educated and morally cajoled out of his ignorant and immoral past (9:xi-xxv; 11: Autumn, 1936, 4-5). Marx believed that evil resided ultimately in the economic order. For Niebuhr, "the most grievous mistake of Marxism" lay in its assumption that economic and social manipulation could produce altruistic citizens who would "give according to their ability and take according to their need" (7:201). Marx's man was too plastic, too easily reshaped. Marx and his followers were therefore blind to the degree to which new forms of pride and greed would pervade even their own socialist societies (11:Spring, 1936, 28; 10:II,253,261).

While Niebuhr accepted much of Marx's critique of religion, he clearly had an independent point of view which enabled him to criticize Marxist thought and practice. The biblical view of man as free but perverted exposed the fallacy of Marx's economic determinism and utopian illusions. Prophetic religion, like Marx, is able to unmask the sentimental illusions and reactionary social roles of traditional and middle-class acculturated religion. Yet beyond Marx, prophetic religion points to the deeper roots of injustice in all human societies (11:Autumn, 1935, 4). It is able to appreciate Marx as a seer, but also considers him a disguised romantic (9:193-199). Prophetic religion is, therefore, not

illusory, not an opiate of the people, but a source of insight and realism not limited by any social system. Through its incisive realism it illumines the dynamics of human society, but can it do more? Can it become an instrument for changing society?

### 4. LOVE, JUSTICE, AND POWER

Human history for Reinhold Niebuhr was enacted in a mountainous terrain which displayed the depths of incorrigible self-interest and the heights of a transcendent love. Even as his analysis of human nature yielded resources for social criticism, so also his articulation of the transcendent love of God contained principles and resources for criticism and change.

Further informed by the biblical heritage, Niebuhr identified the transcendent norm of prophetic religion as love. This ultimate norm is not to be equated with mutual love *(eros)* which is born of human need and always "seeks to relate life to life from the standpoint of the self and for the sake of the self's own happiness" (10:II,82). The transcendent norm of ethical religion is self-giving love or *agape* (the Greek word for this love in the New Testament), a love not concerned for reciprocity, heedless about the needs of the self and directed towards the good of the other (7:57, 10:II,71-72). As a Christian, Niebuhr believed that *agape* was portrayed supremely in the death of Christ on the cross, symbolizing the suffering of one who sought nothing for himself and everything for the neighbor (7:37,120; 10:II,58,71).[15]

Niebuhr considered *agape* as much more than a human ideal. He called it the "quintessence of the character of God," and, although he did not believe that *agape* was the exclusive possession of the Christian heritage, he said that it was "clarified" by the New Testament literature and was embodied in the life, teachings and death of Christ (9:58-59; 7:39; 10:II,70-71). Such persons as the Indian saint Ramakrishna conceived of selfless concern for the other as an ultimate ethical ideal for human conduct (9:58). But through the life and death of its founder, Christianity had *agape* woven into the fabric of its existence. With a kind of heedless charity, St. Francis of Assisi kissed lepers and trusted robbers, and Paul the apostle cried that Christian communities should make no value judgements between Jew and Greek, male and female, slave and free (9:58).

Nevertheless, Niebuhr did not believe that self-giving love was an ideal "attainable in history" (7:117; 10:II, 68). *Agape* is a divine, transcendent, "ecstatic" form of love which defines the "ultimate heroic possibilities of human existence," not "the common possibilities" of historical behavior (16:28; 9:263).



While Niebuhr regarded self-giving love as an ideal transcending the calculating compromises of ordinary human transactions, he was convinced that it was still a powerful ingredient in shaping man's life in history. Niebuhr did not relegate *agape* to some other-worldly status with no relevance to this-worldly existence. Throughout his life Niebuhr was concerned about the "relevance of an impossible ideal" (7:103-135; 10:II,68-97; Bennett in 3:54-57).

In the first place, part of the genius of *agape* lies in its organic relation with "every moral aspiration and achievement" (7:105). Human moral systems that prohibit stealing and murder or that affirm human rights and equality are "grounded in" *agape* and fulfilled and refined through it (7:105-107). Prohibitions and positive moral systems are based on hopes for greater social unity and mutuality and presuppose concern for the other as well as the self. Self-giving love sensitizes the way parents treat their children, the way school systems educate, and the way societies should treat criminals not as enemies but as genuine human beings (7:109-111). Niebuhr developed the notion of "mutual love" *(eros)* as the norm that most directly and consistently relates *agape* to human experience. Mutual love, expressing the reciprocal needs of neighbor and self, is the highest norm that is realizable by man in natural human communities (10:II,81-82). *Agape* "completes" mutual love by pointing to an always more perfect form of brotherhood (10:II, 82-86).

In the second place, like the biblical view of man, *agape* serves as a norm for social criticism. Precisely because this love can never be fully embodied in human history, it always preserves its integrity as a transcendent ideal. Self-giving love thus exposes the egotistical limits to any form of social justice and keeps men from imparting "unqualified worth to qualified values" (7:105; 10:II,86-95). It is "precisely in a high religion, which sees the whole world of history as relative to the absolute and final goodness of God" that the "dishonesties and deceptions of culture can be best discovered" (11:Autumn, 1935, 19). Thus, *agape* provided Niebuhr with a norm for criticizing any acculturated religion which served the self-interests of its participants rather than the needs of all men. Any secular or religious system that supposes that it realizes altruism within history is self-deceived. No social program, like universal education of the secular society of Marxism, is able to embody self-giving love (10:II,86-87). Because of its transcendence, *agape* exposes and opposes all past and present attempts to endow any society with absolute moral goodness and divine sanction.

Driven by the ideal of self-giving love, prophetic religion possesses the power to challenge social inequities and to create social unrest. Niebuhr identified himself with a long heritage of radical spokesmen. The herdsman Amos of the Old Testament cried out against the merchant

aristocracy of his age and their priestly supporters; he was charged by the king of Israel with political conspiracy (Amos 2:6; 7:10-17). Jesus offended the religious establishment of first-century Judaism and the political power of Rome; he was crucified as a messianic pretender. During the Reformation, the Anabaptists took up the "left wing" political heritage of biblical faith; they became political exiles for their cause. Later in England, the Puritans, propelled by the egalitarianism latent within their faith, joined ranks with Oliver Cromwell in a revolution against the monarchy (11:Spring, 1938, 14). In all these instances, Niebuhr saw the transcendent norm of *agape* inspiring prophetic spokesmen to take up the cause of social criticism or political revolution. Indeed, religion of this kind was the opposite of a passive ideology sustained only by hopes for a heavenly reward. Niebuhr viewed Marx himself as a prophet in this tradition, sharing "exactly the same faith," although in secular form (11:Autumn, 1935, 17).

Niebuhr had no illusions concerning the adequacy of love as the sole norm for transforming oppressive social systems (9:34; 16:44). His realistic view of man and his understanding of the moral limits of groups led him to view social problems in terms of corporate self-interest and power conflicts.[16] Therefore, if prophetic religion was to address the significant social issues of the day, it was necessary to develop a moral norm that would be rooted in love and appropriate to the competing self-interests and power conflicts of social groups. For Niebuhr, the notion of justice provided the mediating norm between the ideal of love and the realities of power.

Consistent with the Enlightenment tradition, Niebuhr understood justice in terms of equality. Yet maintaining a more dynamic perspective than Enlightenment thinkers, Niebuhr believed that equality was a transcendent principle behind justice, since genuine equality could never become fully embodied in the varied historical manifestations of justice (11:Spring, 1938, 16; 7:108; 10:II,254). As a "pinnacle of the ideal of justice," equality pushes the historical forms of justice toward higher levels (10:II,254).

Niebuhr once called "equal justice" an "approximation of brotherhood under the conditions of sin" (10:II,254). He meant by that phrase that justice ultimately pushes people—however reluctantly—to treat others as their equals. This is a kind of second-level golden rule—acting for others as you wish them to act for you (16:13,26-27). Equal justice is fulfilled in mutual love, and mutual love finds its ultimate ideal in *agape* (7:108; 10:II,247). Justice, therefore, enjoys a dialectical relationship with love. On the other hand, love serves as a transcendent magnet that draws justice towards higher and higher levels. In this process, the concept of "justice" is transformed in history (10:II,246). The sensitizing



power of unselfish benevolence means that today's "justice" may appear unjust tomorrow (10:II,246ff.). On the other hand, justice keeps love honest. It keeps love from degenerating into sentimentalism or from being undermined by subtle forms of self-interest. For example, the meaning of a "love" relationship between a man and woman can easily be informed more by customs and stereotypes than "by a fresh calculation of competing interests" and mutual rights (10:II,248, Bennett in 3:60). Similarly, what appears to be "love" in philanthropy is shown to be something less by the criterion of justice. Justice shows that much philanthropy is predicated upon illegitimate social inequalities (16:26).

Justice, however, is not only in dialectical relation with love but also is in close proximity to the real world. Personal self-interest and group egotism constantly express themselves in the world through many types of conflict. Equal justice is the best norm for evaluating these conflicts. It recognizes realistically that the differing interests of individuals and groups must be respected and calls upon reason to assess and balance conflicting needs and desires (7:196; 16:28; 10:II,252). The Enlightenment legacy of "critical intelligence" is a "veritable prerequisite of justice" in its ability to adjudicate competing interests (7:163-164; also 9:57,59). Justice thus utilizes reason and deals forthrightly with self-interest and egotism.

Moreover, justice includes a consideration and use of power or coercion, and Niebuhr regarded power as an absolute necessity for effecting social change (9:esp. xxiii). Legal systems, governmental structures, the popular will, economic resources and even the force of arms are means of power available in society to adjudicate the competing self-interests of groups (10:II,256-269). Learning from Marx that disproportionate power often lay at the root of social injustice, Niebuhr emphasized that the struggle for justice in society would have to consist in a redistribution of power, particularly by giving greater strength to the less powerful victims of injustice (10:II,258,262-265; 9:163; Bennett in 3:60). In this respect, his thought was a prophetic forecast of many of the social crises of the 1960's and 1970's.

Niebuhr believed that the redistribution of power must be accomplished either through governmental and legal action or violent revolution. These were the embodiments of coercion necessary to change society, and Niebuhr saw no "absolute distinctions between non-violent and violent types of coercion or between coercion used by government and that which is used by revolutionaries" (9:172,179). In opposition to Marx, Niebuhr did not believe that violent revolution was inevitable but opposing middle-class presuppositions, he argued that violence was not "intrinsically immoral." For example, violence was not inevitably an expression of hatred or ill-will, nor did it always produce more suffering

than forms of non-violent coercion like blockades or boycotts (9:171-179; cf. also p. 230).

While Niebuhr was committed to augment justice within society by legal and political means, he was willing in the 1930's to entertain the possibility of utilizing violence. He argued that the Russian Revolution, rather than representing the first, worldwide revolution, occurred under a set of unique conditions that could not be duplicated in America or Western Europe (9:187). Uncannily, he predicted in 1932 that although communism would probably not sweep the West, it very likely would "gain its victories in the agrarian Orient" (9:191). He expected American society to be reshaped along the lines of political and economic reform evident in England and Germany in the 1920's and early 1930's (9:187-219). Niebuhr himself considered nonviolent forms of political coercion as "clearly preferable" to violent readjustments of power (9:220). Yet in the 1930's he believed that violence, hopefully executed without blind self-righteousness and with the quick "tempo of a surgeon's skill," could justifiably be used to effect social change (9:220; 12:165-189).

His commitment to win justice by altering the balance of power in society led Niebuhr to become involved in politics. On the economic front, he was an active supporter of organized labor throughout his career. At times he would leave his lectures at Union Theological Seminary in order to appear on a picket line for a local New York union. Niebuhr invited and won support from many other church leaders in this cause. As early as 1934 he wrote that Christians need to "stop fooling themselves." If they really want to reconcile men to each other and help create a more just society, they must recognize "the perennial necessity" of this-worldly, political involvement (16:43; Schlesinger, Jr. in 3:135). Niebuhr himself helped initiate several political organizations and politically-oriented journals. One was the liberal political group, Americans for Democratic Action; another was the journal, *Christianity and Crisis*.[17] His life incarnated his own principle: there must be "conscious political contrivance in human history to mitigate conflict and to invent instruments for the enlarging mutualities of social existence" (10:II,265).

Niebuhr's commitment to the liberal wing of the Democratic political party was a relatively late development in his career. It was a commitment that expressed his confidence in the ability of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal politics to humanize *laissez-faire* capitalism as well as his revulsion towards the fascism of Germany and Italy and the Stalinism of the Soviet Union (cf. 11:Winter, 1938, 44-45; Schlesinger in 3:142-150 and Bennett in 3:72-75).

Prior to 1944, Niebuhr's political position was far more radical. From 1929–1944 he described his position as that of a "Christian Marxist."[18] With Marx, Niebuhr found capitalism brutal and dehumanizing. He understood capitalism to embody self-interest and inequality, while socialism thrived on enlightened self-interest and equality. For Niebuhr in the 1930's, only the "socialization of property" could provide an adequate "prerequisite of basic justice" (14:545; 11:Spring, 1936, 28; 7:184; 9:170). And only a violent or legislative socialist revolution could establish a "tolerable equilibrium of economic power" (14:545). World War I and the great depression had convinced Niebuhr that capitalism suffered "an organic and constitutional sickness," surviving crises in unemployment only by resorting to warfare (12:24-35,77-81; 11:Spring, 1938, 15-17; 14:545; 4:166-185).[19]



After 1944, Niebuhr greatly altered his political beliefs. He became, in fact, a national spokesman and defender of pragmatic, Western democracy.[20] Under Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, labor began to enjoy more of the fruits of democracy (Schlesinger in 3:142-145). At the same time, Niebuhr's realistic view of man led him to become increasingly critical of socialist power systems (cf. Bennett in 3:72-75). He defended democratic capitalism because it allowed for the expression and adjudication of group conflicts under the ideals of equality and love (see esp. 10:II,263-64; 5:xii-xv). One of Niebuhr's famous dictums expressed the close relationship between his realistic view of man and his commitment to democracy: "man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary" (5:xiii).

Apart from his changing political loyalties, Niebuhr relied upon his systematic love–justice–power ethic to change *status quo* relationships in a variety of areas. He taught, preached, wrote and acted so that men and women, inspired by *agape* love, would create and support structures of power that would enable labor, the poor, women, blacks, Jews and ethnic minorities to win their just rights in society (see the bibliography in 3:459-478). This entailed the support of specific and "proximate" economic and political policies, as well as leadership in various agencies like the National Council of Churches and the NAACP. Niebuhr could criticize Martin Luther King's "sentimentality," yet he deeply influenced King and strongly supported his quest for social justice.[21]

Throughout his life, Niebuhr was a staunch critic of institutional religion. He hoped that dynamic preaching of prophetic religion would help prepare middle-class Christians for social justice (cf. 16:153). However, he was never convinced that this transformation would occur. In the late 1920's and the early 1930's, the focus of his criticism fell upon the irresponsibility of middle-class, acculturated religion toward industrial conditions and labor. In the mid-1940's, he rightly complained that this same middle-class church had "failed miserably" in its response to racism. Indeed, the church in America, declared Niebuhr in 1944, was "almost consistently Jim Crow in its pattern of segregation (16:37,143).

Nevertheless, Niebuhr recognized certain institutionalized forms of religion that did serve as instruments of social justice. The Puritan churches in England, propelled by the ultimate norm of the sovereignty of God, had become a revolutionary, "left-wing" social force in opposition to the monarchy (11:Spring, 1938, 14). Niebuhr also conjectured that lower-class white American churches might become socially dynamic, but, for the most part, their activism was hindered by ignorance (16:112-113). Later in his life, he believed that black churches were developing genuine social vitality (16:20). However, these institutions tended to be the exceptions, rather than the norm, in Niebuhr's understanding of the social role of institutionalized religion. While he continued to believe in the power of prophetic religion to promote social justice, he was always keenly aware of the gulf between the biblically based, prophetic religion he espoused and the acculturated practice of religion in American churches.

### 5. CRITIQUE OF MARX

Several of Niebuhr's criticisms of Marx have already been noted. On the basis of his biblical view of man, Niebuhr objected to Marx's socio-economic reductionism which did not take account of man's freedom or his perennial evil proclivities. Moreover, as an historian, Marx did not acknowledge the fact that religion had inspired many revolutionary prophets and movements. Niebuhr therefore concluded that Marx was not correct in his contention that religion was only a superstructure reflecting the socio-economic substructure of life or that religion functioned solely as a weapon for established oppressors and a psychological crutch for the working masses.

However, Niebuhr's critique of Marx was far more devastating than these cogent criticisms. For Niebuhr exposed the religious basis of Marx's self-proclaimed scientific empiricism. While Marx had a realistic, empirically based appreciation of economic influence and while he rightly recognized the centrality of power and conflict in human life, he had to leap over "the bounds of rationally verifiable possibilities" to establish the essential contentions of his position: the inevitability of revolution, the necessity for the ultimate victory of the proletariat, and the establishment of an egalitarian society free from destructive egotism (9:156,167; 13:462,468). Undiluted Marxism, Niebuhr argued, was actually "a religious interpretation of proletarian destiny."

> To make the degradation of the proletarian the cause of his ultimate exaltation, to find in the very disaster of his social defeat the harbinger of his final victory, and to see in his loss of all property the future of a civilisation in which no one will have privileges of property, this is to snatch victory out of defeat in the style of great drama and classical religion. . . . Marxism is another kind of slave revolt. It exalts not the virtues but the estate of the lowly. . . . It is not the meek but the weak who are given the promise of inheriting the earth (9:154).



Marx thus created "an apocalyptic vision," a confident prophecy of a utopian future for the disinherited, a secularized version of Christian eschatological hope (9:155-156).

Beyond the incipient religious ideology of Marx himself, Niebuhr discovered in Russian communism the fully developed characteristics of a major religion. Stalinism included the absolute ethic of loyalty to the proletariat; it disseminated a sacred scripture consisting of the writings of Marx and Lenin to be studied and revered by all; the Communist Party functioned as a dogmatic, heresy-hunting organization, expelling and sometimes executing party members holding deviant beliefs; Stalin himself ruled as a priest-king, endowed with mystical powers and demanding dutiful reverence from the masses; the people's confidence depended upon faith in a higher, providential power, in this case the dialectic of history, leading to worldwide victory for the communist cause; and the future of a classless society was envisioned in terms reminiscent of the traditional expectations of paradise (13:466-468; 9:155-162; 11:Autumn, 1935, 15). The post-Stalinist establishment of a sacred shrine containing the body of Lenin and attracting pilgrims from all over Russia and elsewhere further confirmed Niebuhr's analysis of the religious dimensions of Russian communism.

While Niebuhr considered communism a religion, he always recognized that this new religious movement has promoted social change. Communism tapped the hopes and despairs of the laboring masses and directed their energy towards the building of a new, egalitarian society. Like Puritanism or black churches, Marxism fused the self-interests of a social group with an inspired faith (9:161-162). Communism also joined together a critical, realistic analysis of social oppression with an idealistic vision of a new future society. The combination of these two factors—critical realism and transcendent hope—is closely analogous to Niebuhr's own version of prophetic religion. The pessimism of the communist social analysis called for violence and total commitment, while the optimism of its future hope sustained self-denial for the sake of building a new society. Niebuhr regarded the Marxist criticism of the old order and its devotion to social change as its most constructive aspects.

Nevertheless, considered as a whole, Niebuhr found the religion of Marxism to be highly destructive of basic human values. Because Marxism imagined itself to be purely scientific and therefore necessarily true,

it encouraged a rigid and ruthless dogmatism. Because Marxist idealism viewed man as infinitely malleable it was blind to the egotistic and repressive use of power within socialist societies. There simply was no room in the dogmatic expressions of Marxism for ideological or social criticism once revolutionary power had been established. Like older religious and secular liberals, the Marxist placed a naive trust in human rationality and espoused a romantic view of human nature which ignored man's perennial lust for power (9:155.194; 11:Spring, 1938, 17-18).

Finally, Niebuhr objected to Marxism as another form of acculturated religion. Just as middle-class Western religious institutions tended to absolutize the values of their class so Marxism made the values of the proletariat infinite (9:161-192). By uncritically absolutizing the self-interests of the working masses, Marxism created new forms of vindictiveness, violence and egotism (9:155.157). While Niebuhr sought to abolish the social injustice intrinsic to middle-class domination of society, he was not willing to absolutize the values of any single social class, including the proletariat. For Niebuhr any religion based on a particular class, any exaltation of the finite to the infinite, was necessarily destructive both for individuals and for society as a whole.

Through this critique of Marx Niebuhr exposed yet another set of pretensions and illusions. While claiming to be scientific, Marx was shown to rely deeply on nonempirical hopes. While claiming to be realistic, Marx also propagated utopian dreams. By means of Niebuhr's prophetic realism, Marx was unmasked as a reductionist and romantic, not so much the propounder of a new, social-scientific synthesis as the prophet of a new form of acculturated religion.

### 6. NIEBUHR'S PROPHETIC LEGACY

At a time when the social policies of traditional religion appeared irrelevant and those of liberalism naive and ineffectual, Niebuhr gave a new impetus to the prophetic legacy of the Bible. He became an American Amos whose discoveries were also rediscoveries of the critical, revolutionary voices of ancient Hebrew prophets. His writings show that religion has been and can be a catalyst for social unrest and change. This potency of religion had been overlooked by Karl Marx.

Yet Niebuhr's delineation of prophetic religion was more than a reaffirmation of the past. While his own convictions concerning the social role of religion were informed by Hebrew prophets and advocates of the social gospel, Niebuhr added to that heritage his own incisive, critical realism. Through his analysis of individual and group behavior, he enabled a generation of religious thinkers and political theorists to become



partners in the mitigation of social ills (Schlesinger, Jr., in 3:126-150).[22]

Niebuhr's insistence on the centrality of self-giving love was faithful to his Christian tradition and germane to the problems of social change. Love meant more to Niebuhr than the highest ideal of tradition or liberal Christianity. It became a critical norm for judging all the relative and finite approximations of justice in society. Moreover, the fusion of love with the norm of justice and the tactics of power led to the birth of a new generation of socially active religious leaders in America. These people were committed to remake old institutions or create new ones in order to realize more inclusive forms of justice. As we have seen, among those deeply influenced by Niebuhr was Martin Luther King, who combined the religious traditions of American blacks with the nonviolence of Mahatma Gandhi and Niebuhr's power-oriented realism.

The form of prophetic religion developed by Reinhold Niebuhr proved to be an effective instrument for social criticism. His analysis of mankind's diverse expressions of egotism unmasked intractable self-interest and aggressiveness in all social systems. As a result, many social critics who reject the religious origins and claims in Niebuhr's thought use his analysis as a critical perspective.[23] They have become rightly suspicious of the claims of any group that identifies its self-interest with ultimate ethical principles: capitalist and Marxist societies; middle-class or proletarian economic strata; ethnic, racial, religious or sexual groups. In short, like Marx's anti-religious social philosophy, Niebuhr proved that prophetic religion can clarify the dynamic forces shaping human existence, criticize oppressive social orders and cultivate programs designed to promote a more just society.

Niebuhr's elaboration of the reactionary role of much religion has been confirmed by recent research. Gibson Winter's *Suburban Captivity of the Churches* set forth a careful, sociological analysis, showing how middle-class religion was captive to the ethos of suburbia; sociologists Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark have presented evidence indicating that strong religious commitment varies inversely with a high concern for revising society; and studies by Charles Reimer and Jeffrey Hadden have shown respectively how churches have nurtured racism and have resisted active involvement in controversial social issues.[24] Enclaves of Niebuhr-informed social activists in denominational superstructures or in organizations like the National Council of Churches have often discovered painfully that they are shepherds without flocks. Their sophisticated studies and carefully designed social policies have simply failed to attract broad-based, grass-roots support from members of middle-class religious institutions. The analysis of Niebuhr that seemed radical and pessimistic in the 1930's has proven, unhappily, to be true for the 1970's.

Nevertheless, a careful consideration of Niebuhr's thought suggests

four problematic points. First, does Niebuhr's pervasive application of his realistic image of man tend to restrict and inhibit social change? Over against the moral optimism of his liberal theological predecessors, Niebuhr insisted on the dominant role of self-interest in all human behavior and on man's tendency to use his power to exploit others. This theological perspective tended to make Niebuhr conservative in his expectations for political and social change. He was extremely cautious about any revolutionary program which was oriented towards a utopian hope for a new society. Given the genuine innovations within history, was he too cautious? Critics of Niebuhr like Richard Shaull have argued that the eschatological hope of the Bible is oriented towards a radical transformation of society in the future, a transformation that cannot be confined to a pragmatic program of relative increments in social justice. Did Niebuhr's disillusionment with social gospel idealism and his pessimism concerning man's evil proclivities prevent him from taking seriously the radical hope proclaimed in the Bible? [25]

Second, does Niebuhr's identification with the post-World War II American social context limit his ability to understand problems of social change in underdeveloped societies? Was Niebuhr after the mid-1940's a social prophet relevant only to America and other economically developed, politically stabilized democracies? Before 1940, in his "socialist phase," Niebuhr spoke of the bankruptcy of *laissez-faire* capitalism and of hope for a new social order more consistent with the norms of love and justice in prophetic religion. But the specters of fascism and Stalinism, the acid of his own realistic view of man and the social changes evident under the New Deal led him to temper his hopes and limit his visions. Pragmatism, prudence and order replaced in part his earlier pleas for radical justice and love (16:152ff.). Today, many social ethicists question the applicability of post-World War II American experience to underdeveloped societies.[26] It may be impossible to develop more humanized social orders in other nations within an American type of political democracy or within the economic style of democratic capitalism. Because Niebuhr chose to direct his thought to the specific issues of the post-World War II context, he may be less relevant than others to a quite different economic and political situation. This problem is highlighted in the following chapter. Should there be a movement from Christian realism to Christian radicalism in the application of prophetic religion to new social and political contexts?

Third, given Niebuhr's enthusiasm for relating his thought to "biblical religion," did he overlook the rich diversity of resources for social change within the biblical literature? Did he take seriously the eschatological visions of a new age predominant in much of the biblical literature? Did he fail to recognize sufficiently the biblical vision of God who identifies himself fully with the poor and the oppressed? James Cone develops both of these biblical themes—the identification of God with the disposessed and the eschatological vision of a new society—in his exposition of a theology for black American Christians.[27]

Fourth, in light of Niebuhr's critique of middle-class religion and his conviction that social change requires the utilization of power, what social agencies are available for prophetic religion's quest for justice? Throughout his life, Niebuhr was suspicious of the social role of most forms of institutionalized religion. He chose to cast his lot with shrewd, informed pressure groups that occupied positions of power in denominational, intradenominational and political organizations—the religious and ethical brain trusts of national church bodies and political parties. The unity and power once achieved by the concerted activity of national church agencies behind Martin Luther King and black churchmen now appear to be fragmented and weakened. If prophetic religious leaders do not trust local religious groups because they tend to be bastions of middle-class values, and if the national churches have been divested of both prestige and economic power, the question as to who will implement the prophetic quest for social justice becomes pressing indeed. Can social change result from the agitation of radical "cell" groups or the legislative activity of "well-placed" political leaders? Will social change be produced by those groups intrinsically self-interested in change—the religious institutions of the dispossessed? The latter suggestion is consistent with Niebuhr's own thought, for it links together self-interest with a religious hope for justice.

It is still an open question whether religious institutions will respond to the criticisms of Marx and the prophetic judgments of Niebuhr. For religious believers, Niebuhr's vision of prophetic faith offers a decisive challenge. Will these believers transform their communities by their self-proclaimed, highest ideals? Or instead, will they, as the prophetic Isaiah said, hide their eyes from the visions of seers and demand that prophets speak "smooth things," and "prophesy illusions?" (Isaiah 30:10)

## NOTES

[1] Harnack gave a classic statement of his theology in his published lectures entitled in English, *What Is Christianity?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957, originally published in 1900). A succinct discussion of Harnack's thought is found in Dean B. Peerman and Martin E. Marty, eds., *A Handbook of Christian Theologians* (New York: World, 1965), pp. 86-111. A sketch of Harnack's theology in relation to the development of liberalism is found in John Dillen-

ology; Lehmann in Kegley and Bretall, eds., *Reinhold Niebuhr* (3:252-280). Cf. also the impressive study in Part One of Gordon Harland, *The Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960).

16 Niebuhr played a central role in renovating—via the analytical depth and social realism of his thought—the earlier American social gospel movement (see note 4 above). See the discussions, readings and bibliography in Smith, Handy and Loetscher, *American Christianity*, II (18:505-562); and particularly the books by Paul A. Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1954); and Donald B. Meyer, *The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941* (4).

17 For more elaborate discussions of Niebuhr's political thought, involvement and influence, see the articles by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Kenneth Thompson in Kegley and Bretall, eds., *Reinhold Niebuhr* (3:125-176); and the books by Ronald H. Stone, *Reinhold Niebuhr: Prophet to Politicians;* and Gordon Harland, *The Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr.*

18 For the background to Niebuhr's Marxism and the reception of socialism in America, see the following: Stone, *Reinhold Niebuhr*, pp. 54-91; Robert T. Handy, "Christianity and Socialism in America, 1900-1929," *Church History*, 21 (March, 1952), 39-54; Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America;* and Donald B. Meyer, *The Protestant Search for Political Realism.* Further bibliography can be found in Nelson R. Burr, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 711-714.

19 Niebuhr's disenchantment with pre-New Deal capitalism became a virtual jeremiad in his *Reflections on the End of an Era* (12).

20 See particularly Niebuhr's *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (5), *The Irony of American History* (1955), and Niebuhr and Paul E. Sigmund, *The Democratic Experience Past and Prospects* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), as well as the discussions by Stone, *Reinhold Niebuhr*, pp. 92-167, 204-210, and Schlesinger in Kegley and Bretall, eds., *Reinhold Niebuhr* (3:125-150). These sources prove that Niebuhr's appreciation of democracy was always a discriminating one.

21 For the mutual relationships between King and Niebuhr, see Martin Luther King, *Strength to Love* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 135-143; and Niebuhr in Davis and Good, eds., *Reinhold Niebuhr on Politics*, pp. 235-238, and Robertson, ed., *Love and Justice* (16:20). The aged Niebuhr's longer reflections on racism in America are found in *Social Action/Social Progress*, XXXV (October, 1968), 53-64.

22 For the great influence of Niebuhr on George F. Kennan, Hans J. Morgenthau and others, see Stone, *Reinhold Niebuhr*, pp. 9-10, 169-217.

23 See note 22 above and the comments by John C. Bennett in Kegley and Bretall, eds., *Reinhold Niebuhr* (3:48-49).

24 See, for example, Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 201-226 (see also their negative assessments of the social roles of institutionalized religion in pp. 170-200); David M. Reimer, *White Protestantism and the Negro* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965); Jeffrey Hadden, *The Gathering Storm in the Churches* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1969). Very recent studies suggest that the degree of pessimism manifested above may be over-drawn. See the review by Joseph C. Hough, Jr., "The Church Alive and Changing," *The Christian Century*, 89 (January 5, 1972), 8-12.



25 Cf. the analysis by Shaull in "Theology and the Transformation of Society" (17:26-36), which at points draws heavily from the work of Paul Lehmann. Niebuhr's relationship to Jürgen Moltmann, Rubem A. Alves and others is discussed briefly in Stone, *Reinhold Niebuhr*, 235-240.

26 See the discussion of Dom Camara in the next chapter and the analysis by Stone in *Reinhold Niebuhr*, pp. 204-211. Niebuhr's own sensitivity to this problem is evident in his joint study with Paul Sigmund entitled *The Democratic Experience: Past and Prospects* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969).

27 See the discussion of Cone in the next chapter.

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13. ———, "The Religion of Communism," *Atlantic Monthly,* 147 (April, 1931), 462-470.
14. ———, "Ten Years That Shook My World," *The Christian Century,* 56 (April 26, 1939), 542-546.
15. ———, "What the War Did to My Mind," *The Christian Century,* 45 (September 27, 1928), 1161-1163.
16. Robertson, D. B., ed., *Love and Justice.* Cleveland: World, 1967 [1957].
17. Shaull, Richard, "Theology and the Transformation of Society," *Theology Today.* 25 (April, 1968), 23-36.